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VISCOUNT GREY'S open letter about the treaty has stirred up a deal of controversy at Washington, and has provoked charges and counter-charges of which the newspapers have had difficulty in keeping track. President Wilson knew what Viscount Grey was going to say; President Wilson did not know what Viscount Grey was going to say, and does not agree with the views expressed now that he has read them; Senator Lodge was advised of what the letter would contain; Senator Lodge was not advised about the letter; Viscount Grey has powerfully aided the movement for ratification; the letter will not help ratification in the least: so have run the Washington dispatches from day to day. It is all measurably confusing and entirely unenlightening, as usually happens when men who do not know exactly what they want to do, and are not at all sure that they can do anything, feel forced to make pretense of doing something. The outstanding facts seem to be that Viscount Grey's letter, while making clear, what everybody knew before, that Great Britain is extremely anxious to have the United States ratify the treaty, adduces no new reasons why the treaty should be ratified; and that the "wilful Senators" who have sturdily refused to accept the treaty are on as good ground as ever. The treaty is exactly what it was before Viscount Grey wrote—a document which Mr. Wilson never ought to have signed and which the Senate never ought to approve; and there is no new argument in the observation that a number of European statesmen are greatly disappointed that the United States has not been willing to sit out their game.

THE campaign for Presidential nominations seems on the surface to be lagging a little. Experienced political observers are pointing out that the Hoover and Bryan booms, while vociferously acclaimed by friends of the respective candidates, are not yet insuring the choice of many delegates. Mr. Bryan, it would appear, is not popular at the "movies," while Mr. Hoover is viewed with suspicion by the farmers and has aroused no enthusiasm in the ranks of labor. Mr. Hoover has issued a statement in which he says that he is not a candidate, that he is not prepared to state whether he is a Republican or a Democrat until the party managers have decided what the parties stand for, that he is opposed to socialism and nationalization, that he does not believe in more than two great parties, that he could not vote for a party which was dominated by privilege or which was opposed to free speech, and that he has no "organization." There is reason for suspecting, however, that a vigorous campaign for Mr. Hoover is being carried on under the surface, and that the country-wide organization of the old Food Administration is being made use of for that purpose. General Wood's candidacy is being actively pushed, and as the General is reported to be in favor of the forcible repression of agitators, he will doubtless appeal to a considerable portion of the reactionary element which just now masquerades under the banner of law and order. There is encouraging evidence, however, that the country, and particularly the demobilized soldiers, do not want a soldier candidate, whether General Wood or anyone else, and that the Wood boom may shrink considerably by the time the Republican convention arrives.

SINCE the first meeting of the Executive Council of the League of Nations at Paris, on January 16, the League, although at last a reality, has not loomed large in the news. The nine members of the Council who gathered at the French Foreign Office appointed the Saar Basin Commission, and adjourned to meet again at London on February 10. As was to be expected, the failure of the United States to enter the League has deprived that organization of much of its importance, and it is unlikely that the League will do much more than mark time until the final decision of this country has been taken. One of the first duties will be the organization of the international court which is part of the League scheme; and it has been rumored that Mr. Elihu Root may be asked to assist in this task. A number of neutral countries are, apparently, getting ready to join the League. Switzerland will probably come in if its neutrality can be assured. The Scandinavian countries are reported to have concluded that it will be good policy for them to join, and the Dutch Parliament has before it a Cabinet bill providing for the adhesion of the Netherlands. More significant is the interest which certain South American countries are taking in the League. Peru is anxious to get its long-stand-

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ing dispute with Chile over the provinces of Tacna and Arica before the League, while the *Saturday Review* suggests that South America is seeking in the new international body a way of escape from the hegemony of the United States—a not improbable suggestion in view of the well-known dislike of South America for the Monroe Doctrine and its ardent desire for some effectual guarantee against interference by this country. Salvador has taken the interesting step of asking the United States for a definition of the Monroe Doctrine before deciding whether or not it will join the League.

EXPERIENCE is a dear teacher, and the Allies seem determined to make the lessons as costly as possible. Having driven a coach and four through the structure of international law by demanding that Holland should surrender the Kaiser for trial, they have now set out to wreck what remains of the edifice by demanding some 890 war offenders from Germany. True to the hateful policy of secrecy which has attended almost every important step of the peace settlement, the full list of names was not at first made public; but the partial list which has been cabled includes many of the most noted political and military leaders of the former Imperial régime. To this "book of hate," as the Germans have called it, France is reported to have contributed 334 names, Belgium the same number, Great Britain 97, Poland 51, Rumania 41, Italy 29, and Jugoslavia 4. Precisely what the Allies hope to accomplish by this their latest act of insolence is not wholly clear. The demand for the Kaiser was rejected by Holland in a dignified note whose brief but cogent argument did not leave the Allies a leg to stand upon; yet the receipt of the note has been followed by wild talk about blockading Holland for its refusal, or compelling it to banish the Kaiser to some remote isle. Every Allied military man in Germany knows that any attempt to turn over to the Allies any of the persons who are now demanded would mean the fall of the Ebert Government and perhaps a bloody revolution; yet the "book of hate," which was returned by Baron von Lersner, the German representative at Paris, has nevertheless been presented through the French representative at Berlin. As if to add further travesty to the odious proceeding, the intimation is given that the Allies do not really expect to try anybody, but will be satisfied if Germany acknowledges its obligation by accepting the list. Have the Allied statesmen lost their senses? Are they so drunk with their own conceit as no longer to feel regard for either decency or honor? There is but one bright spot in the whole Allied proceeding, and that is that neither the United States nor Japan appears to have inserted any names in the list.

WHILE the prolonged labor difficulties in Spain between the intransigent syndicalists and the equally intransigent employers occupy much space in the press, the whole story of Spanish industry is not summed up in such reports. Labor in Spain is not solidly syndicalist; indeed, recent figures indicate that the greatest growth and the largest actual numbers of organized labor are to be found in the ranks of the labor unions of Andalusia, Asturias, and Castile, which lean toward socialism. Industrially speaking, Spain is divided into two parts: anarchistic unionism predominates in Catalonia; socialistic unionism predominates in the rest of Spain. Socialism presents about the same negligible strength in Catalonia that anarchistic syndicalism presents outside of that province. Anarchistic syndicalism seems to have progressed little since 1906, the period of its great growth; while the socialistic labor movement has almost doubled in strength during the past year. The General Union of Workingmen, of which Largo Caballero is president, reports a total membership at present of 160,480 workers, and although independent of the Socialist party, it contributes its vote to the Socialist ticket. The membership of the General Union has increased by 70,000 in one year, while during the same period the Socialist party has grown from 15,588 paid members to 42,113. The Spanish Socialist party has recently decided to adhere conditionally to the Second Internationale, but it is interesting to note that the Federation of Young Socialists, although pledged to follow the leadership of the party, voted to go with the Third, or Moscow, Internationale.

A RECENT report from Paris that the United States had decided to recognize the Republic of Armenia was promptly met by a statement from Washington that "no definite conclusions" had been reached on the question, and that recognition of a state whose boundaries had not been settled would be unusual. It is also announced that no American troops will be sent to Turkey for garrison purposes, on the ground that the United States, not having been at war with Turkey, could not appropriately join in an Allied military occupation. Allied action on the Turkish question, meantime, appears to have gone no further than debate. There has been no decision as to the ultimate status of Constantinople, and the problem of how to break the power of the Turks in Europe without provoking a Moslem revolt in Asia remains unsolved. The continuance of the present state of halting between war and peace bears with peculiar hardship upon the Armenians, who, according to all accounts, are at present without defense against the Turks, and who are also, in addition to the danger of renewed massacres, suffering from lack of food, medical supplies, and many common necessaries of life. While we have been from the first opposed to allowing the Allies to devolve upon the United States a mandate for Armenia, we believe it to be a moral obligation upon the United States to use its influence to prevent the threatened obliteration of that unhappy country, and to insure to its people a means of livelihood and the opportunity of self-government. It will be indeed a tragedy if Armenia should perish while Washington is reaching "definite conclusions" and the Allies are making up their minds.

A NEW menace to the scanty European food supply will shortly appear in the shape of the American tourist. Agents of transatlantic steamship lines agree that an immense volume of travel to Europe will soon set in, and that it will increase as the spring advances and as ships which have been used for other purposes during the war are made ready for passenger service. When one remembers that for nearly six years there has been practically no tourist travel to any European country, and that the war has added a new and powerful incentive to the usual ones of recreation and sightseeing, there is no difficulty in believing that the volume of tourism may easily reach proportions limited only by the utmost carrying capacity of available vessels. It is a serious question how this great army of visitors is to be fed or housed. Every European country is suffering acutely from lack of lodgings; and in France, which is likely to re-

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ceive more tourists than any other country, the food supply is still much below normal. It may be taken as certain that large supplies of food will have to be sent to Europe throughout the summer to meet the necessities of the ordinary population; on the other hand, until the exchange situation is materially improved there can be little normal trade in food or in anything else. Food prices, too, continue everywhere to be phenomenally high. European shopkeepers, we are told, are looking for a harvest, and they will doubtless be rewarded; but it is well within the bounds of possibility that the advent of tens of thousands of tourists, especially in France, might easily bring on a crisis of formidable proportions in food, lodging, and transport. It would be a real service if the communities and organizations which are seeking to attract American tourists would make clear how they propose to accommodate those who come.

THE National Civil Liberties Bureau, which has been doing yeoman service in defending the rights of free speech and a free press under the restrictions of the Espionage Act and other war-time statutes, has closed up its affairs. In its place has been formed the American Civil Liberties Union, a national organization to preserve the rights of free speech and peaceable assembly in industrial conflicts. The program of the new Union is a bold challenge to the whole régime of official terrorism and force from which the country is suffering. Under the guise of suppressing "Reds," radicals, "Bolshevists," and the I. W. W. is concealed, the Union declares, "the one purpose of suppressing the revolt of labor against intolerable industrial autocracy." Accordingly the new organization, which is headed by leaders in the labor movement and by men and women prominent in public life, plans to send speakers and organizers into areas of industrial conflict where freedom of speech, of the press, or of assembly is restricted, to furnish lawyers and investigators in serious cases, and to fight on the spot arbitrary local regulations which are believed to be contrary to the Constitution. It will also continue the amnesty campaign on behalf of political and industrial prisoners.

THERE will be, we feel sure, deep regret in many places besides New York at the outcome of the controversy over the Sunday night forum at the Church of the Ascension in this city. The agreement which has been reached with Bishop Burch provides for the continuance of the forum, but the speakers are to be approved by the Bishop in advance, and questions from the floor are to be in writing. In other words, instead of debate, as formerly, there will now be an address, presumably well enough sterilized to avoid any danger of radical infection. Whether or not the rector, Dr. Percy Stickney Grant, had the requisite canonical authority to conduct the forum as he did, and whether or not some of the persons who took part in discussions observed or flaunted the proprieties due to the place in which they spoke, are questions which we leave others to answer; but they are not of the essence of the matter. The main point, and the only one of which the public is likely to take notice, is that a Christian minister, admittedly devoted to the social as well as the spiritual welfare of the people among whom he lives, assumed to open his church on Sunday evenings for free discussion of political and economic questions in which the public were interested; and that because some of the views expressed, and the manner of expressing them, were not in keeping with the ideas of certain Episcopal clergymen and laymen, the essential character of the forum has been destroyed.

THE Merchants' Association of New York city has done good service in calling attention to the demoralization of the customs service at that port, due in the main to insufficient salaries. The declarations of shippers, all of which must be checked up with vessels' manifests in addition to other formalities, have numbered as many as 9,500 a day, but only six or seven men are available to handle the papers and take the necessary oaths. The statistical work of the Custom House was 200 steamers in arrears at the end of 1919. The salary scale is based upon standards established a generation ago, and is not only grossly inadequate in view of the enhanced living costs, but is in some instances only one-half or even one-fourth of the amount paid by private concerns for similar service. Customs examiners, who in the nature of the case must possess elaborate technical knowledge as well as experience, are paid from $1,800 to $3,500 a year; the latter amount, the legal maximum, being at present received by only five of the ninety-five examiners at the port. Expert openers and packers, of whom from two to five are assigned to each examiner, receive $3 a day, with nothing for overtime; while employees classed as "laborers," principally engaged in trucking and cleaning, are paid up to $840 a year. Examiners assigned to the inspection of the passports and luggage of incoming or outgoing passengers receive $4 or $5 for a ten-hour day, with no allowance for overtime or meals, while longshoremen in private employ are paid 85 cents an hour for an eight-hour day, with $1.20 an hour for overtime and Sundays. It is not surprising to learn that resignations from the service at New York average one per day, and that sixty-nine vacancies remain unfilled because no qualified persons can be found who will accept the salary offered.

AN interesting case affecting the rights of professors, and involving some novel features, has lately arisen at the provincial University of Saskatchewan. At a meeting of the University Council, composed of professors and assistant professors, on April 7 last, President Murray submitted for consideration certain charges which had been lodged against him with the Acting Minister of Agriculture by the Director of Extension Work in the university, alleging incorrect returns to the Legislature of monies expended for extension work, and a want of confidence on the part of members of the faculty in the President's administration. Two days later, at another meeting of the Council, four professors abstained from voting on a resolution of confidence which was presented, on the ground that the author of the charges was absent. The Board of Governors held several meetings at which the charges were discussed. In August, three of the four professors who had declined to vote, together with the professor who had made the charges, were dismissed; another, the fourth who had refrained from voting, resigned. A citizens' committee, representing a provincial organization formed at Saskatoon in December, has now taken up the case and is urging an investigation of the action of the Board of Governors by the Legislature. Every British subject, the report of the committee points out, has rights which the Board has denied, namely, knowledge of the charges against him and a hearing in his own defense.

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What Is Attorney General Palmer Doing?

THE following remarkable letter, bearing the signature of Mr. A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General of the United States, was addressed to the editors of a magazine of large and general circulation and is published by *The Nation* with their consent. The editorial policy of the magazine in question is non-partisan and non-controversial. The letter was accompanied by photostatic copies of the various exhibits referred to. Save for the correction of an obvious typographical error in the spelling of the name of Justice Story, the letter is here reproduced as written.

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
WASHINGTON, D. C.

January 27, 1920.

——— ——— and Associates,
Editor, ——— Magazine,
New York City.

Dear ——— ———:—

In order that as one of the leaders of thought of this country you may have before you an authentic source of information as to the significance of the present situation I am taking the liberty of sending to you photostatic copies of original documents published by various branches of the Communist Press in Russia and in the United States. These furnish the purpose, history, and character of the Red Radical Movement, not by hearsay, but under the authoritative sanction of its own progenitors.

Exhibit No. 1 is the Report of Louis C. Fraina, International Secretary of the Communist Party of America, describing fully its antecedents, birth and projects, and follows the form of an application of the Communist Party of America to be accepted in the Bureau of the Communist International as a "major party."

Exhibit No. 2 is the manifesto of the Third Communist International adopted at Moscow, March 2-6, 1919, and signed by Comrades C. Rakovsky, N. Lenin, M. Zinerzen, L. Trotsky and Fritz Platten. It is an exhaustive statement of the rationale, principles and program of Russian Bolshevism and its ambition for world-wide dominion.

Exhibit No. 3 is the responsive and co-operating Manifesto, Constitution and Program of the Communist Party of America.

Exhibit No. 4 represents the form of application for membership in this party, containing the pledge to active enlistment in its seditious work.

Exhibit No. 5 gives the Novomirski Manifesto of the Anarchist-Communists organized in the Federation of Unions of Russian Workers of the United States and Canada, similar in purpose to the manifestoes of previously numbered exhibits and containing particularly the declaration "We are atheists; we are communists; we are anarchists."—You all have one task—to destroy the world of gain and create a world of freedom; for all there is one means—an armed insurrection and forcible seizure of all instruments and all products of toil. "Woe to the enemies of the laboring class."

Exhibit No. 6. "Your Shop" is an evidence of the sabotizing of labor and labor enemies prescribed on the communist program.

Exhibit No. 7. The State-Strike Breaker, of like use but aimed at the defamation of government and the employing class.

Exhibit No. 8. A proclamation of the Communist International against the Versailles Peace, designed to exert influence toward its failure of ratification.

Exhibit No. 9. An example of the Russian Bolshevik propaganda among our soldiers in Siberia.

Striking passages in these exhibits are marked for convenience.

The whole is submitted for the furtherance of a more realizing popular appreciation of the menace involved in the unrestrained spread of criminal Communisms unspeakable social treason among the masses.

It is the contention of the Department of Justice that these documents standing alone demonstrate:

(1) That the present aim of the Russian Government and its officers is to foment and incite discontent, aiming toward a revolution in this country.

(2) That the entire movement is a dishonest and criminal one, in other words, an organized campaign to acquire the wealth and power of all countries for the few agitators and their criminal associates.

The Red Movement does not mean an attitude of protest against alleged defects in our present political and economic organization of society. It does not represent the radicalism of progress. It is not a movement of liberty-loving persons. Lenine himself made the statement, at the Third Soviet Conference, "Among one hundred so-called Bolsheviks there is one real Bolshevik, thirty-nine criminals, and sixty fools." It advocates the destruction of all ownership in property, the destruction of all religion and belief in God. It is a movement organized against Democracy, and in favor of the power of the few built by force. Bolshevism, syndicalism, the Soviet Government, sabotage, etc., are only names for old theories of violence and criminality.

Having lived at the expense of the Russian people for two years, these speculators in human lives and other people's earnings are trying to move to new fields to the East and to the West, hoping to take advantage of the economic distress and confusion of mind in which humanity finds itself after the terrific strain of five years of war.

Its sympathizers in this country are composed chiefly of criminals, mistaken idealists, social bigots, and many unfortunate men and women suffering with various forms of hyperesthesia.

This Department, as far as existing laws allow, intends to keep up an unflinching war against this movement no matter how cloaked or dissembled. We are determined that this movement will not be permitted to go far enough in this country to disturb our peace or create any widespread distrust of the people's government.

Our actions have been and will be continuously met with criticism. In so far as that it is founded upon an understanding of these documents and upon the situation which they disclose, we welcome it, but the sabotizing of public thought is an essential of this movement, and we are asking you, after reading these documents, to aid in seeing that the American people are not misled. The natural sympathy of our people for distress in all forms is now being used by the friends of Bolshevism in discussing the number of women and children alleged to have been left dependent by our deportations. We can assure you that the condition of the family of each and every person arrested has been personally examined into by the Agents of this Department, and that wherever there are dependents of these men they are being individually looked after by the most prominent charitable organizations of their own creed in their locality. It is no part of the Attorney General's duty to look after the families of violators of our laws. Hundreds of thousands of men are in prisons throughout our country without it ever having been urged by anyone that the Government is under any proper charge to look after the families brought into distress through criminal acts of their own members.

But in order that the issue may remain clear, we have determined to see to it that no woman or child be allowed to suffer for the conduct of their supporters.

Their next move has been to agitate criticism of the Government's activity as directed against the right of free speech. I yield to no one in my anxiety that that right be preserved

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unclouded and unquestioned, but nothing so endangers the exercise of a right as the abuse thereof, and a clear definition of the right of free speech and of a free press sufficiently answers any criticism of the necessity which the Government finds itself under in combating this movement. I ask you to consider the following definition of this right, taken from our courts and from the great leaders in the battle of the centuries for that right.

Erskine (known the world over as the father of free speech) says (Rex vs. Paine, 22 St. Tr. 357): "He who wishes to avoid sedition must not excite individuals to withdraw from their subjection to the law, by which the whole nation consents to be governed."

Mr. Justice Story in his commentaries on the Constitution, paragraph 1874, defined the phrase to mean, "that every man shall have the right to speak, write and print his opinions upon any subject whatsoever, without prior restraint, so always that he does not injure any other person in his rights, person, property or reputation; and so always, that he does not thereby disturb the public peace, or attempt to subvert the government."

Mr. Justice Vann (People v. Herr Most, Vol. 171, N. Y. Court of Appeals Reports) states: "The punishment of those who publish articles which tend to corrupt morals, induce crime or destroy organized society, is essential to the security of freedom and the stability of the state. . . . It does not deprive the state of the primary right of self-preservation. It does not sanction unbridled license, nor authorizes the publication of articles prompting the commission of murder or the overthrow of the government by force. All courts and commentators contrast the liberty of the press with its licentiousness, and condemn as not sanctioned by the constitution of any state, appeals designed to destroy the reputation of the citizen, the peace of society or the existence of the government."

Judge Learned Hand, of the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, recently said in a case involving the publishers of "The Masses," "Words are not only the keys of persuasion but the triggers of action, and those who have no purport but to counsel the violation of law cannot by any latitude of interpretation be a part of that public opinion which is the final source of government in a public state."

It is often stated that England is more lenient to utterances of the character of those here now complained of, but I call your attention to the fact that under the present law of England, and under the law as it has existed for a century, these utterances have been pronounced seditious and made punishable by imprisonment.

It is the position of the Government that the wilful dissemination of such documents as I am asking you to examine, far from being an exercise of the right of free speech guaranteed to us in our Constitution, is a step tending toward the absolute destruction of that right. Does any one contend that the right of free speech exists in Russia today, or that its exercise in Russia is not punishable by death? Other propaganda will undoubtedly be started, and I recognize that there can be no real effectiveness or saving in our legal prosecutions of sedition unless these prosecutions are backed by the sympathetic and hearty efforts of all elements of good citizenship. There is a menace in this country. It may not be the menace of immediate revolution. No harm, however, can come to the American people from intelligent contemplation of the situation in Russia and the woe that has been brought upon three hundred millions of people; of the situation of Bulgaria and of the loss of life and property entailed in the activity of the Russian Bolshevists there; of the recent riots in Berlin with their loss of life, and similar incidents throughout the world.

Edmund Burke has said: "It is right that there should be a clamour whenever there is an abuse. The firebell at midnight disturbs your sleep, but it keeps you from being burned in your bed. The hue and cry alarms the country, but it preserves all the property of the province. But a clamour made merely for the purpose of rendering the people discontented with their situation, without an endeavor to give them a practical remedy, is, indeed, one of the worst acts of sedition.

The Department of Justice has a vast amount of other information regarding the radical movement in this country, which is at your disposal. It will give me much pleasure to have one of your representatives call at this office so that you may obtain the information first-hand. If you are unable to send a representative, I will be glad to furnish you with any details, either general or in specific cases. My one desire is to acquaint people like you with the real menace of evil-thinking which is the foundation of the Red movement.

Respectfully,

(Signed) A. MITCHELL PALMER

If we read the foregoing letter aright, it is nothing less than a deliberate misuse of the office of the Attorney General for purposes of propaganda. The communication is obviously intended to prejudice the editors, and through them the readers, of the magazine to which it is addressed against the views of a group of radicals with whom the Attorney General has no official concern whatever save to prosecute them in the courts if he believes them guilty of violating Federal law. Mr. Palmer's letter amounts to an attempt to convict such persons in the press on *ex parte* evidence in advance of the proper legal method of a trial in open court. In its statement of the alleged aims and character of the Russian Soviet Republic it usurps the functions of the Department of State, whose business it is, in conjunction with the President, to determine the political status of a foreign government. Whether or not the letter stands alone, or is part of a widespread effort to influence all such magazines as the Attorney General thinks he can reach, we do not know; but the fact that the particular publication to which this letter was sent offers its readers information rather than opinions makes the action peculiarly objectionable because dangerously subtle.

The Nation presents this letter to its readers more for their information than for the purpose of commenting upon it. We would remind them and Mr. Palmer, however, that the legal functions of the Attorney General are two: to advise the Government on questions of law, and to prosecute persons who are believed to have violated Federal statutes. Mr. Palmer charges the radicals against whom he complains with "the sabotizing of public thought." What else, pray, is he himself attempting with the present unblushing effort at propaganda? When he declares, further, that he is determined not to allow "this movement" to "create any widespread distrust of the people's government," is it fair to assume that "the people's government" which he is thinking of is not only the American commonwealth, but also the Wilson Administration, which latter was repudiated at the polls in the Congressional election of 1918, and one of whose chief drags has been the autocratic administration of the Department of Justice by Mr. Palmer and his predecessor?

What is Mr. Palmer trying to do? Is he setting himself up in opposition to Mr. Burleson as the thought regulator of the country? Is he seeking to edit the magazines of the country from Washington? Is he trying to attain the Presidency by using for propaganda purposes the public office which he has sworn to administer? One thing he is certainly not doing. In sending out this letter, he is not exercising any of the legitimate functions of an Attorney General of the United States.

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The Coming Peace with Russia

PEACE has again broken out in Europe in more aggravated forms than ever. Esthonia has made peace with the Soviets on terms which relieve it of any responsibility for the debts of the former Russian Empire, while at the same time assuring to Esthonia its share of the imperial gold reserve, some 15,000,000 rubles. Poland is considering an equally generous offer from Russia, and reports indicate that the Allies may "permit" a Polish-Russian understanding; such diplomatic permission amounting, no doubt, to a virtual command. A Baltic alliance, comprising Finland, Esthonia, Poland, and Latvia, has been formed for defensive purposes only, and has put no obstacles in the way of the Esthonian agreement with the Bolshevist Government. Lithuania, omitted from the combination out of deference to Polish sensibilities, is reported to be hovering on the verge of an actual alliance with the Soviets; while Rumania, with the Bolshevist armies massing on its border, is said to be already negotiating with Russia.

These general movements toward reconciliation with the Russian Soviet Government are less interesting than is a consideration of the causes and motives that underlie them. The policy of the small states which were once assigned to the rôle of *cordon sanitaire* is only a phase of Allied policy; and Allied policy today is another word for the policy of Great Britain. The method of dealing with Russia advocated by the United States in the person of Mr. Wilson was rejected at Paris nearly a year ago. The method of M. Clemenceau, supported in England by Mr. Winston Churchill, has been tried, and has recently been discredited by the armies of the Bolsheviki and the desperate economic need of Europe. Now we are to have the method of Mr. Lloyd George.

Great Britain's preparations for peace have for months been a matter of rumor and news report. First came the report of British swords turned into Russian ploughshares —the conversion of British munition factories into plants for the manufacture of agricultural machinery for sale to Russia; together with the statement that the British Government, through the Board of Trade, was underwriting insurance against inland risks on British goods in transit to Russia and on goods bought in Russia by British firms. The Central Russian Institute was formed at London to collect and distribute exact information with regard to Russia, and to stimulate in every way the development of British trade connections in the Russian field. Then came rumors of large shipments of British goods to Baltic ports, and their storage in places adjacent to Russian arteries of trade. Four large corporations owned by British interests merged in a $60,000,000 mining syndicate, and prepared to enter the Russian field as soon as conditions allowed. These reports were followed by press dispatches announcing that the British Government, acting through a syndicate of British bankers, had completed negotiations by which Great Britain assumed control of the finances of Esthonia and Latvia.

Coincidently with these rumors and reports came the charges made by the suspended Socialist Assemblymen in New York, to the effect that Mr. R. N. Nathan, alleged to be the former chief of the British Secret Service in the United States, had had access to the documents of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau in New York at the time they were seized by the Lusk Committee; and that he had obtained photostatic copies and even some originals of agreements made between American manufacturers and the Russian Government. It was further discovered that Mr. Nathan had subsequently accompanied Mr. O'Grady, representing the British Foreign Office, to the conference at Copenhagen with M. Litvinov, the special representative of the Russian Soviet Government. Reports persistently appeared in the European press that the conference at Copenhagen covered more subjects than the one announced for discussion—an exchange of prisoners. Then came the announcement, astonishing to all who had accepted the official version of the Russian situation and the need for a blockade, that the embargo would be raised on shipments made by the coöperative societies to Soviet Russian territory. The fact, however, that certain of the agents of the coöperatives in the United States and in Europe, appointed previous to the Bolshevist Revolution, had openly supported counter-revolutionary leaders and policies gave rise to some doubt as to the probable attitude of the Soviet Government; doubt which was confirmed by a cablegram from M. Litvinov to Mr. Martens, the Soviet representative in the United States. M. Litvinov declared that the "foreign representatives of the Russian coöperatives are out of touch with the head office. They helped Kolchak and Denikin and therefore do not enjoy the confidence of the Soviet Government." He repeated the statement, said to have emanated from Moscow, that "no foreign trade is possible unless Soviet Russia is relieved of the necessity of continuing to fight against its aggressors and until the blockade is lifted unreservedly."

While the Russian Government does well to scrutinize with care an offer of trade made with the expressed purpose of turning it out of power, it seems probable that the name of the coöperatives has been invoked to ease the shock of an actual recognition of the authority of the Soviets. At the present time, the coöperative societies within the widening boundaries of Soviet Russia exist only by sufferance of the Bolshevist Government. They are allowed a quasi-independent existence, but with a representative of the Supreme Council of National Economy on their governing boards. Trade with the coöperatives is, in fact, nothing else than trade with a commercial agency of the Soviet Government, but it is not possible to reverse the course of diplomacy over night without a certain amount of preliminary publicity.

What, it may be asked, is the attitude of the United States toward these alterations of international policies? The American Commercial Association to Promote Trade with Russia, recently organized at New York, has directed its executive committee to start mandamus proceedings in the Federal courts if Mr. Lansing continues to refuse permission for a resumption of trade with Russia; while the Department of State is reported as waiting for word from London before making any decision. If the United States is still bound to act in accord with its late Allies, why has the Government played no part in the recent peace negotiations in Europe? If the United States has withdrawn from the councils of the Allies, why is it incapable of developing a policy of its own with regard to European trade and diplomacy? In place of the moral principles for which American soldiers went to fight the war and Mr. Wilson went to fight the peace, new principles of commercial advantage—British commercial advantage—appear to be dictating the conclusion of new treaties. The final chapter in the attempt of the United States to assume moral leadership in the world is apparently being written in the British Foreign Office.

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Labor and Internationalism

IT is curious to see the way in which the leaders of old-line political parties still treat labor and the labor vote. There are compliments enough and to spare, of course. Politicians are never tired of telling labor how important it is, how edifying the spectacle of millions of men and women working with their hands, how civilization would perish were it not for the fruits of human toil. All the stock phrases about the dignity of labor, the moral virtues of industry and the vice of idleness, the necessity of a living wage, the incomparable superiority of living conditions in one country as compared with another, the perils of cheap labor, and the right of labor to organize and agitate provided it does not do anything really serious, do duty today in political discussion as they have done duty for more than a generation. If humoring and cajolery, patting on the back, and unctious flow of fine words and well-phrased promises could make labor contented with its lot, then surely ought the wage-earners of the world to have become long since the happiest and most contented of people.

Once one looks below the surface of all this flattery and advice, however, a very different state of things appears. Neither in this country nor in Great Britain do the leaders of the old established parties appear to realize that labor, whether organized or not, has controlling motives and aspirations which cannot by any possibility be made to fit existing party schemes. In both countries labor, as a political factor, is too often looked upon as something alien to the "regular" party system, a political movement which obstinately refuses to take its proper place. In Great Britain, Mr. Lloyd George has a habit of acting as though labor ought really to support the Liberal or Unionist policies; its insistence upon having policies of its own and developing a party to carry those policies into effect, is a mistake if not a perversity. In the United States, Democratic and Republican politicians commonly assume that labor, if it is wise, will support the Democratic or Republican parties; to talk of forming a labor party and supporting labor candidates is at the least foolish and in practise mischievous. And when, in either country, labor refuses to do what is expected of it, there is a strong disposition to go at once to extremes, and to accuse labor of sympathizing at heart with the disorganizing and revolutionary elements in the community, and of a willingness to run amuck across the only forces that can be counted upon to keep the country safe.

It is astounding with what bland assurance, camouflaged as an appeal to patriotism, labor has been called upon to play the game of the old-time leaders. It was asked to support the war to the bitter end because Governments in which it had no considerable voice had decided that the war must go on. It was asked to support a treaty of peace in the making of which it had small share. It is asked now to endure patiently an appalling increase in the cost of living, while Governments temporize with the profiteers. When it protests against keeping up the burden of armaments and planning for universal military service, it is told that if it only were wiser and more farseeing it would perceive that armaments and military training are a blessing as well as a necessity. When it denounces the war with Russia and calls for peace and the opening of trade, it is charged outright with sympathy for Bolshevism and with a desire to restore German influence in the world. Stand by the Government, compromise your disputes, respect the established order, play the game—such are the admonitions for observance of which labor is to be rewarded with an increase of wages, a minor post in Cabinet or Ministry, and representation on commissions and boards which discuss and resolve.

What these leaders of parties apparently fail to see, or, if they see, persistently refuse to admit, is that labor everywhere today has passed the point where it can be humored or coerced in such fashion. It is, frankly, no longer interested in appeals of this kind. And it is not interested because, broadly speaking, labor has ceased to be national and has become international. The great fraternity of those who work now belts the globe. The differences which separate American labor, for example, from British or French or German or South African labor are indeed numerous and varied, but they are nevertheless, in the main, differences of incident and detail rather than of fundamental characteristics or principle. The same demands for living wages, reasonable hours, and humane working conditions which are heard in one country voice themselves also in all the others. The desire for education and enjoyment, for public health and civic beauty, for freedom of speech and organization, for the peaceful pursuit of chosen occupations, and for a share in the control of government as well as of industry, knows today no national bounds nor yet the time-honored limits of language, race, or creed. The interests of labor are one, and the province of labor is the world.

Hence it is that labor, realizing its international mission, feels less and less interest in political issues and devices which, whether they affect one country or many, are in fact only the manifestations of a narrow and selfish nationalism. The program for which labor stands represents, on the whole, social advances and benefits which the old nationalist order has failed to secure. Labor has no interest in armaments and compulsory military training because it stands for peace, and military and naval establishments tend to disturb peace. It has no interest in alliances and foreign policies which, under the guise of self-protection or benevolent control, in fact perpetuate imperialism, the fertile source of wars and of political oppression. It is not concerned to maintain trade discriminations between states or to impose impossible burdens upon a vanquished enemy, partly because all such forms of oppression are contrary to international comity, and partly because they hinder the free development of commerce and industry upon which the happiness of labor depends. Least of all is it disposed to bolster up Governments which have demonstrated their incapacity as well as their autocracy, or to perpetuate political institutions which obstruct the expression of the people's will. Labor, in short, is tired of being wheedled and weary of being led. It is seeking political power in the hope of governing efficiently. It is working out a program which it hopes may express universal needs, searching for the best way of recognizing intellectual workers, and striving to turn its powerful fighting machine into an instrument of reconstruction. The politicians of the old school still go on blindly with their futile tasks, and their followers applaud; but it is to the solidarity of labor rather than to any formal union of governments that we must look today for liberty, international understanding, and peace.

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Lynch Law and the Immigrant Alien

By FREDERIC C. HOWE

THE test of America's love of liberty is our willingness to insure it to others. Our reverence for Anglo-Saxon justice is to be measured by the way we apply it to those who have never known justice; to those who have no means of protest, no power to which they can appeal for protection.

There are sixteen million persons of alien birth in the United States. Most of these have come from southern and central Europe. Many do not speak our language. They are unfamiliar with our laws and institutions. They have received little assistance in adjusting themselves to American life. The vast majority are manual workers. They do our dirty work. It is their labor that gives us our leisure. They produce a great part of the wealth which the rest of us enjoy. Industrial America rests on the backs of the alien workers who form our defenceless class.

The unnaturalized alien in America has been made a man without a country. He is outside the protection of the commonest safeguards which we throw about a criminal. He has no claims on the Bill of Rights; he is not protected by the Constitution. The alien is a *person*, it is true, and the Constitution speaks of persons, not citizens. Yet by acts of Congress and by the decisions of the courts his person and his liberty have been gradually shorn of those safeguards that our Anglo-Saxon traditions have made so sacred to the American-born. The immigrant alien may be deported for a score of reasons. The majority of them are industrial. They spring from something we have done to the alien rather than his condition when he landed. The great majority of aliens are deported because they have broken down in the industrial machine; they have become a public charge. They have been discarded by the mine, by the mill, by the factory, by the packing plant. America refuses to assume the costs and the consequences of its own industrial processes. It makes no provision for human depreciation, obsolescence, or decay. It does this for its machines; but not for human beings. These we use up and then send back to the countries from which they came. Aliens are also deported because of moral reasons; latterly, because of political opinions. A Tolstoy would have to be deported. So would Bernard Shaw. There is scarcely a critical political philosopher in Europe today who would not be deportable under our laws.

It is not alone the reasons for deportation, it is the method that is so cruel. No matter what the alien is to be deported for, no matter if the deportable condition is traceable to America, the alien has no day in court in which he can tell his story; he has no jury of his peers who will understand his experiences; he has no impartial judge guided by rules of evidence, or even by the traditions and customs which our laws have thrown about a person on trial, to see that he secures justice. The alien may not appeal to the laws of his own land; and there are no laws in his adopted land to which he can appeal. There is no indictment by a grand jury to ascertain his guilt; what he gets is more of an inquisition, a star-chamber inquest, than a trial. The proceedings are in secret. The public is excluded; so is the press. Even the alien's family—his wife, his children—are not admitted. Up to recently the alien was denied a lawyer until after the inspector had made out a case. Then the lawyer was of little value.

The trial can scarcely be dignified by that name. If the alien cannot speak English, he may not know what it is all about. And as very few inspectors throughout the country have a knowledge of any other language than English, the alien has to get along as best he can. This is not the worst feature of the procedure. The inspector who makes the arrest is also the prosecutor. He may want to make a record. Then, having prosecuted the alien, the inspector mounts the tribune and himself becomes the judge. Very frequently the prosecutor-judge becomes the clerk. He takes down the record of the hearing, a hearing in which he, the inspector, is often unable to understand the answers which he receives. Then the inspector becomes the jailor. He holds the alien if the alien is unable to provide bail. Finally he becomes the executioner and starts him on his way to Europe.

The immigration inspector may be honest and sincere. And the great majority of them are. Few of them desire to railroad men from the country, if left to themselves. But they have been subjected to a terrific pressure; an almost irresistible pressure in many parts of the country. They, too, were indicted as "reds" and revolutionists if they resisted the hysterical clamor of their locality, a clamor supported by the police, by chambers of commerce, and by the press. For we have been trying the alien by hue and cry, by the methods practiced in the South against the Negro. And the immigrant inspector is but human. He wants to live at peace with his community.

A record at the hearing which the inspector holds is sent to Washington for review. His findings must be approved by the Department of Labor. There may be a hearing on the case. But this does not often happen. And even this is only a slight protection. For the examination is conducted, the record is made up, and the hearing is closed by the inspector, who stops when he feels the case has been made out, or when he has lured some admission from the alien or produced some writing, printed matter, or other evidence that seems to inculpate him.

Hundreds of officials scattered throughout the country can arrest an alien, try him in secret, hold him *incommunicado*, and if the opinion is approved at Washington, start him on his way to Europe without as much of a trial as we accord to a common drunk in the police court. The alien might, in fact, be landed in Europe and his family might not know what had become of him. A false entry, a misunderstood question, or a wrongly translated answer may convict. "Frame-ups" are possible; "frame-ups" to seize the alien's property; "frame-ups" resulting from race quarrels; "frame-ups" resulting from strikes and industrial conflicts. Men have been examined at Ellis Island who claimed they had been beaten to compel admissions. Aliens have been told that if they refused to testify their refusal of itself would incriminate them. The alien was convicted if he did testify; he was convicted if he didn't.

But this is by no means all. Ours is supposed to be a Government of laws, not of men. A man can only be convicted for a specific statutory offense. Not so with the alien. If

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a specific offense cannot be proven, the alien can be held under the drag-net accusation that he is "likely to become a public charge." There may be no truth in the accusation; he may be possessed of adequate property. But when other charges fail, the inspector lays this charge against him. And the courts sustain it. As a result the alien may be deported for no reason whatever except that some one believes he is undesirable. Certainly Congress did not contemplate that administrative officials should themselves make laws and then execute them.

Has the alien no right in court at all? Does he never sit before the bar of justice with legal counsel, his friends, the bright light of publicity to protect him from injustice and abuse? Occasionally, but not often. His only opportunity of a public or a court hearing is under writ of *habeas corpus*, the old Anglo-Saxon protection that we guard so jealously. The inspector may prevent him enjoying even this right. He may hold him *incommunicado;* he may refuse to admit attorneys; he may send him out of the jurisdiction to prevent a trial in court. This has been done. But even a trial under this writ is merely a shadow. It is not a trial which determines the guilt or innocence of the accused. The court does not decide the merits of the case, or pass upon the weight or probability of the evidence. If the courts are able to find any evidence, even a suggestion, that is all that is required. For the courts have decided that if the inspector has any evidence on which to sustain the decision, that is all that is needed to deport.

We are deporting aliens for their opinions; a practice that prevailed in Spain at the time of the Inquisition. It prevailed in New England in the early days; it prevailed in old Russia and in Prussia. Over a century ago British judges wiped out the practice in that country as incompatible with Anglo-Saxon ideals of justice. English law demands an overt act; at least, a spoken word. It refuses to go into men's libraries, into a man's mind, into his conscience, to make him a criminal. Men have been arrested within the last few months and held as dangerous aliens for believing in Government ownership of railroads; for having books in their possession on the Single Tax and on Socialism. A number of second-hand book dealers have been arrested.

There are stupidities as well as wrongs in the procedure; terrible stupidities. The immigration law is inflexible in its mandates. For some offenses, such as inability to read, men, women, and children must be deported, unless the Secretary of Labor is willing to violate the law. One day last spring, as I approached Ellis Island on the ferry boat, I witnessed a struggle on the pier in which a young woman was being torn from her father, her mother, her sisters, by force. She was suffering from some mental disorder. She was being sent back to Italy unprotected and perhaps to starve. The same day I heard that a young woman had been sent back to starving Armenia because she was unable to read. She was said to have escaped as a stowaway, only to be sent back, possibly on the same steamship that was carrying food from America to feed her starving countrymen. A short time afterwards a deputation of responsible men called on me to say that East Indians were being sent back to India, where they would be shot. Mistakes and wrongs are buried if the alien is sent overseas.

What would the press of America say if American citizens, legally in Mexico, were deported from that country under a procedure such as this; a procedure which, in the case of the alien, means that he is torn from his family, his property, his friends, his identification with the country—without notice, often without bail, without an attorney, and with an accelerated speed unknown to ordinary legal procedure?

There might be some justification for throwing all restraints to the wind if the country was in danger, or if orderly proceeding were impossible. But the records show no such emergency. There is little to justify the assumption that the alien is a criminal or a dangerous "red." What are the records of the war? This should be a test of the alien's disloyalty. Re-read the records of Liberty Bond sales. In community after community where aliens predominated, Liberty Bond issues were oversubscribed. There were 15,000 Russians in the American Army and the subscriptions of Russians to the Liberty Loan totalled $40,000,000. The Greeks took $30,000,000, while Germans, Bohemians, and Italians did equally well. Many alien groups went over the top in shorter time than did similar communities of native born.

Re-read the records of the doughboys. The alien did not wait to be conscripted. He volunteered. The casualty lists that came back from France read like a census of foreign countries. No race, no alien group was missing. Germans, Austrians, Hungarians, Russians, Poles, Italians, those who are now most discredited, fell in the earliest fightings. There was no disloyalty in France; there was little disloyalty in this country. Yet for two years tens of thousands of secret service agents were filling the press with scare stories of treason, of spies, of munition plots, of burnings, of poisoned water supplies, of conspiracies, and of dangers of all kinds.

What do the records at Washington show to justify our present alarm? There were only two aliens deported as anarchists or anarchistically inclined in 1918, and only thirty-seven in 1919. The pioneer deportees, those who came from Seattle in February, 1919, were heralded all over the country as dangerous anarchists. They were assumed to be Russians. Yet of the thirty-six brought from the State of Washington, one was an American citizen, and twenty-seven were natives of England, Scotland, Ireland, Denmark, Norway, and Finland. The others were natives of Poland, of Russia, and of Austria-Hungary. Their average residence in America was twelve and one-half years.

And what is the effect of these wholesale arrests and deportations on the alien; on those whom we are inviting into our night-schools; on those whom we are seeking to identify with our institutions by Americanization? The alien peoples in America, especially those from central and southern Europe, are in a state of panic. They are living in perpetual fear. The mass attacks in the press justify their apprehension, a fear that they are likely to be seized and torn from their homes, and that all America is eager to be rid of them by the most expeditious process possible. We have made Americanization impossible. For even the alien is discerning enough to realize that freedom is an empty thing if it is stripped of those liberties and civil rights which distinguish America from the Old World. We have destroyed our efforts to Americanize by poisoning the minds of those whom with one voice we profess to desire to free, while with another we deny them the only thing save a job that America means to them.

Wendell Phillips said that slavery made a slave of the master no less than the slave. Our experience has shown that even a free people can lose their freedom by denying it to others.

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How Large Should Our Army Be?

By THOMAS R. LILL

[An imaginary hearing before the Committee on Military Affairs, United States Senate.]

THE Committee met, pursuant to the call of the chairman, at 2 p. m. in the Capitol, Senator James W. Wadsworth, Jr., presiding.

Chairman. In what capacity do you appear?

E. Z. Citizen. As a taxpayer.

Chairman. A taxpayer? You are the first to appear before the Committee.

E. Z. C. I am sorry that is so. I would like to make a short explanation, if I may.

Chairman. Certainly; proceed.

E. Z. C. I am a business man and do not profess to be an expert in military matters, but it seems to me that the arguments presented for a large increase in the personnel of the Army should be sufficiently strong to convince the average man and woman that an increase is necessary.

Chairman. You do not consider that the reasons given before the Committee justify the increase in the Army to 509,000 men, with 35,000 unassigned recruits and 29,000 officers?

E. Z. C. I do not, but I do not desire to appear to criticize the Committee in any way.

Chairman. The Committee—the majority members of the Committee, at least—agree with you that a standing Army of 509,000 men is not necessary.

E. Z. C. I am glad to hear that, but it is generally conceded now that an Army of from 250,000 to 300,000 men will be necessary, and that represents an increase from 150,000 to 200,000 over the Army strength as it was in 1916.

Chairman. General Pershing and others have stated that they thought an Army of this size was necessary.

E. Z. C. Yes, sir, I am aware of that fact. Our regular or standing Army on June 30, 1915, was 95,765 men; on June 30, 1916, it was 97,013. Why is it necessary to increase our Army now to 250,000, 300,000, or 544,000 men? The reasons for such an increase must be strong indeed to justify an increased burden upon taxpayers of from $250,000,000 to $700,000,000 annually. As a taxpayer, I should like to know the reasons for this increase.

Chairman. Are you familiar with the testimony that a large Army is necessary to train young men under universal military training?

E. Z. C. Yes, sir, but since such training is not yet a law, and there are serious doubts that it will be, why not postpone the increase until universal military training is enacted into law?

Chairman. That sounds reasonable.

E. Z. C. As a matter of fact, sir, it is estimated that 600,000 young men will be trained each year. An Army of 300,000 will provide one teacher to two pupils. Taking out 100,000 for foreign service in the Philippines, Hawaii, Panama, and the like, it still leaves one teacher to three pupils.

Chairman. I had not analyzed it to that extent.

E. Z. C. General March stated that intensive training ought to have one trained soldier to every four recruits.

Chairman. What is the usual number of pupils to a teacher in our schools?

E. Z. C. Forty is generally considered a possible number, but it frequently runs to sixty. No estimate has been submitted as far as I know of the size of the Army considered necessary if we do not have universal military training. General March was probably right when he said that the increase was automatic; that is, that since we had increased the size of our companies from 100 men to 250 men each, the total increase was in proportion.

Chairman. The United States should have an Army sufficiently large to withstand an assault by an aggressor long enough to enable the citizens to mobilize. The Army should act as shock troops, as it were.

E. Z. C. We all agree to that.

Chairman. Proceed.

E. Z. C. From 1790 to 1910—in the beginning of each decade between that period, except in 1812—our standing Army has been less than one man to each thousand of population. It is now proposed to increase our Army from less than one to two, three, four, or four and a half men per thousand population. The Provost Marshal General reported that there were 25,347,000 men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five subject to military duty. These may be considered as our productive labor, and our military men now calmly propose to transfer from one to two per cent. of our productive labor to a non-productive class.

Chairman. That is very interesting.

E. Z. C. The condition of France at the outbreak of the war with Germany is frequently cited as an example of what might happen to a country unprepared. Yet France had universal military training. There is another way of looking at it; if Germany had not been prepared as she was, is it probable that she would have started the war? I believe in preparedness, but not to the extent of constantly wearing a set of brass knuckles on my hand as I go through the streets.

Chairman. Are you in favor of universal military training?

E. Z. C. I was at one time, but I have changed my mind. I find women do not want their nineteen-year-old sons to leave home influences and spend three to six months under Army control. I find a good many fathers who feel the same way, and after considerable thought on the matter I agree with them.

Chairman. Have you read the testimony of Army officers?

E. Z. C. Yes. The advantage to the country would be in having a partially trained force of men ready to fight at short notice. The advantages to the men are said to be a better physical condition, the molding of a national spirit, vocational training, and the like. In regard to these questions, the men who really need physical development would probably not be allowed in the Army.

Chairman. The Committee is not committed to universal military training.

E. Z. C. It also seems to me that the proposed legislation being considered by your Committee is changing our national policy.

Chairman. How so?

E. Z. C. It has always been our policy to consider that police duty should be performed by the local authorities,

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except in the last resort. I have the impression, not from the testimony I have been reading, because the subject is not mentioned, but from discussions I have had with business men, that a large Army is now considered necessary to suppress internal disorder resulting from strikes and the like. In another way, also, our national policy is changing, and that is in connection with the pay of the Army. Heretofore, service in the Army in time of peace was an adventure, frequently the result of patriotic feeling, but never because of monetary return. Soldiers are now paid a dollar a day minimum, double what they received before the war, and there appears to be a distinct tendency to base service in the standing Army upon a monetary return rather than upon service to the country. I believe it will be a very sad day for us all if military service ever depends upon a fair wage, as does service in civilian employment.

Chairman. We agree with you, but some means must be found to induce men to go into the Army.

E. Z. C. Short-term enlistments, with vocational training as a part of the service in the Army, will provide a standing Army of one per thousand population.

Chairman. We do not appear to have any trouble in securing up to 125,000 or 150,000 men, but there are serious doubts as to whether we can recruit an Army of 300,000 or 500,000 men unless we have universal military training.

E. Z. C. I do not quite see how universal military training will help enlistments in the regular Army in time of peace. I do not understand that this is the purpose of universal military training.

Chairman. Universal military training is a very important subject; its principal object, of course, is to have a trained force available for war.

E. Z. C. May I say something about the cost of the Army?

Chairman. Certainly; proceed.

E. Z. C. General March, Chief of Staff, estimates that each soldier now costs the Government about $1,600 for clothing, equipment, transportation, and overhead expense in the shape of officers' salaries; but this represents only what may be termed current operating expense; it does not include new buildings, barracks, or pensions. The lowest estimate yet made as to the size of the Army is 225,000 men. Various military men who have testified have made estimates from this figure to 300,000. The House Committee, I believe, has favorably reported a bill providing for the last number. The cost of the various proposals is as follows: 225,000 men will cost $360,000,000 per annum; 250,000 men will cost $400,000,000 per annum; 280,000 men will cost $448,000,000 per annum; 300,000 men will cost $480,000,000 per annum; 544,000 men will cost $870,000,000 per annum.

Chairman. You understand that the last figure you quote is the proposal of the present Administration?

E. Z. C. So I understand, but this question of the Army is a national one and I do not wish to consider politics at all.

Chairman. Certainly; the Committee, at least the majority members, and I feel that I can speak for the minority as well in the matter, are striving to solve this problem wholly upon its merits.

E. Z. C. From reading the testimony, I believe that the Committee is doing as you say, but may I suggest that the Republican members should, for the good of the party, of which I am one, keep their ears to the ground. If the party saddles the country with a standing Army of 300,000 men when the people generally believe that this number is not necessary, we are likely to lose the next election.

Chairman. Have you formed any idea as to the effect of the League of Nations upon our military policy?

E. Z. C. It was my understanding that our Army could be reduced if we entered the League of Nations, but my impression now is that the Army believes that the League of Nations would rather tend to increase our Army than to decrease it.

Chairman. Thank you very much for your testimony. It had not occurred to us that taxpayers were interested, but we agree with you that they should be considered.

Susan B. Anthony

By FANNY GARRISON VILLARD

IT is a happy coincidence indeed that the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Susan B. Anthony, one of the greatest of the woman suffrage pioneers, occurs when the woman suffrage amendment to the Constitution is within sight of its triumphant ratification. Whether justly or not, that amendment for many decades bore the name of Miss Anthony, and it is commonly believed that she first suggested the policy of obtaining suffrage by national action instead of through that of individual States. Certainly there could be no more fitting recognition of Miss Anthony's service than to have her centennial birthday on February 15 marked by the enfranchisement of all American women, and their victory over ignorance, prejudice, and tradition.

In Miss Anthony were combined all the needed attributes of a reformer—great strength of character, a remarkably even disposition, which knew neither jealousy nor any spirit of rivalry save in doing good, and absolute forgetfulness of self in her desire to be of use to others. Her gentleness and sweetness were of a rare kind, and prejudices melted away when face to face with her benign but forceful personality. Her speech on the platform came warm from the heart and clear as a bell. Yet so great was her own depreciation of her ability as a speaker that it would have probably prevented her from attempting to address an audience had it not been for the message she felt impelled to deliver. She not only was a good speaker, but was often most impressive and at times truly eloquent. In debate her straightforward statements were so sincere and convincing as speedily to win her hearers. Again and again at suffrage meetings she commanded admiration and affection by her generous acknowledgment of services rendered to the cause by less distinguished workers. On the occasion of her eighty-sixth birthday, her last appearance on the platform, when she placed in the hands of Anna Howard Shaw the responsibility for the leadership of the National Woman Suffrage Association, she said: "There have been others also just as true and devoted to the cause—I wish I could name every one—but with such women consecrating their lives"—here she paused and then added—"failure is impossible."

I was irresistibly drawn to Miss Anthony as a child when-

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ever she visited my parents and I watched her smiling face, so constantly full of fun and so illumined by a noble spirituality. A more thoughtful and considerate visitor never came into any home. Wherever she went, her ready sympathy and helpfulness inspired affection and made her a welcome guest. This characteristic was far more important than may be realized at first thought; for in those days the itinerant reformer was passed from home to home and community to community, and came into much closer personal contact with those whom she was to inspire than is usually the case today. These friendly homes were true havens of refuge; for no one can realize today the abuse and contumely and vilification to which the early advocates of woman suffrage were subjected. In the public mind Miss Anthony was often associated with Mary Walker and those who wore the bloomer dress. Their eccentricity of costume was often made to apply to all woman suffragists. To be accused of advocating free love by demanding the right of suffrage for women, was an everyday occurrence. It was only when strangers were brought in contact with Miss Anthony and other leaders of the cause that they began to understand how brave, noble, and self-sacrificing were these single-hearted pioneers. Apropos of this, let me quote from the *New York Times* the kind of misrepresentation that these women had to undergo at the hands of a malicious press:

> If Mrs. Stanton would attend a little more to her domestic duties and a little less to those of the great public, perhaps she would exalt her sex quite as much as she does by Quixotically fighting windmills in their gratuitous behalf, and she might possibly set a notable example of domestic felicity. No married woman can convert herself into a feminine Knight of the Rueful Visage and ride about the country attempting to redress *imaginary wrongs* without leaving her own household in a neglected condition that must be an eloquent witness against her. As for the spinsters, we have always said that every woman has a natural and inalienable right to a good husband and a pretty baby. When, by proper "agitation," she has secured this right, she best honors herself and her sex by leaving public affairs behind her, and endeavoring to show how happy she can make the little world of which she has just become the brilliant centre.

Miss Anthony early showed her readiness to endure unpopularity, first in the teaching profession, where she indignantly resented the lack of equal pay for equal work, and then in the temperance movement, for which she made her maiden speech. Nor could she turn a deaf ear to the needs of the slaves. Without hesitation she allied herself with the despised Abolitionists, acting as agent for the American Anti-Slavery Society and lecturing all over the country on its behalf until that great cause was won. Indeed, out of the anti-slavery agitation came freedom for women to speak in public. As early as 1837, in answer to the appeal made by the famous Grimke sisters of South Carolina to be allowed to speak on the anti-slavery platform, they were heartily welcomed and given every opportunity to plead for the freedom of the slaves. That was the beginning of the woman's rights movement in the United States; for, incredible as it now seems, up to that time women were not permitted to speak in public. Indeed, when the World's Anti-Slavery Convention, held in London in June, 1840, took place, the distinguished women delegates from the Massachusetts anti-slavery societies, including Harriet Martineau, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Mrs. Wendell Phillips, Lydia Maria Child, and others, were not permitted to take part in the proceedings because they were women. They were relegated to the gallery, and William Lloyd Garrison and another delegate, N. P. Rogers, sat with them, refusing to participate in the discussions if their co-delegates were to be excluded, thus recognizing "humanity irrespective of sex." This protest made the Convention memorable because the woman question took precedence of that of slavery.

It was Miss Anthony's great good fortune to meet her compeer—afterwards her powerful ally—Elizabeth Cady Stanton, in May, 1852, at her home in Seneca Falls, where the first Woman's Rights Convention had been held four years previously. Miss Anthony's life-long devotion to Mrs. Stanton and the suffrage cause began at that time. In it she enlisted, taking no thought of consequences to herself, ready for the combat against wrong public sentiment. Mrs. Stanton heartily reciprocated Miss Anthony's affection, and these two remarkable women worked together in complete harmony for fifty years. Mrs. Stanton, in her interesting autobiography, describes her meeting with Miss Anthony thus: "There she stood with her good earnest face and genial smile, dressed in gray delaine, hat and all the same color, relieved with pale blue ribbons—the perfection of neatness and sobriety. I liked her thoroughly from the beginning." So closely interwoven were Miss Anthony's and Mrs. Stanton's thoughts and deeds in relation to the means employed to secure the right of women to the vote that it is often difficult to ascertain the exact part that each played in it. Mrs. Stanton said: "In thought and sympathy we were one and in the division of labor we complemented each other. In writing we did better work together than either could do alone. While she, Miss Anthony, is slow and analytical in composition, I am rapid and synthetic. I am the better writer and she the better critic. She supplied the facts and statistics, I the philosophy and rhetoric, and together we made arguments which have stood unshaken by the storms of nearly fifty years." That the element of humor was not lacking in the relations of these two indomitable women appears from this extract from a letter of Mrs. Stanton to Miss Anthony in 1891: "I rejoice that you are going to housekeeping . . . my advice to you, Susan, is to keep some spot you can call your own, where you can live and die in peace and be cremated in your own oven, if you desire."

Of this relationship Miss Anthony has also recorded her views, for she said when Mrs. Stanton died that the happiest period of their lives had been "in the days when the struggle was the hardest and the fight the thickest, when the whole world was against us and we had to stand closer to each other, when I would go to her home and help with the children while she was writing upstairs in peace and quiet. Then we would sit up far into the night preparing our ammunition and getting ready to move on the enemy. The years since the rewards began to come brought no enjoyment like that." Surely they were dauntless spirits! Miss Anthony's experiences were identical with those of her co-workers. Summer and winter, they travelled over almost impassable roads, sometimes being obliged to stay in hotels where the food was so bad that it required courage even to make the attempt to taste it. Few people came to their meetings at first and sometimes there were exhibitions of the mob spirit. If such leaders are indispensable, it is their duty to create an army of enthusiastic followers by the use of moral suasion which carries the light of truth with it. In this lay the strength

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of the suffragists. To those like the writer who have lived long enough to be familiar with many reform movements, this one is of peculiar significance, affecting, as it does, half of the human race. Doubt we cannot that the magnitude of the achievement will alter conditions to an extent not possible to foresee. But this we do know, that the changes already wrought have confounded the skeptics.

And yet this once seemingly hopeless attempt to right age-long wrongs owes its triumphant success not to the arbitrament of arms, not to "battalions of death," not to the spirit of revenge and hatred. In this great crusade only peaceful methods have prevailed, patient submission under protest to glaring injustice, to social indignities, while ever reiterating the meaning of human freedom and the truths the reformers held so dear. Let those who lack the courage of their highest convictions today ponder this object-lesson and be governed by it!

The Grave of Ossawatomie

By ROBERT L. DUFFUS

ALONG a mile of dusty upland road, over a fence, and through a hummocky pasture where an ascetic cow might hold body and soul together, up an unadorned byway so rough that even the rich and proud who sometimes visit this place could not travel without jostling, we made our pilgrimage. Appropriately it was on foot. Appropriately, too, there were, if not peas, pebbles in our shoes. This was a bare, an austere land. The day, too, was austere. Stern clouds hung just above the peaks; the summit of Whiteface was swathed in them like a winding-sheet, and the cold wind from the west trailed them across the peaks of McIntyre and Marcy. We were too late, our friends had told us, to see the autumn foliage in its glory; it was the ruins of that glory, stripped from limbs now bare, that fluttered in the occasional gusts and were slowly returning to the soil under our feet. The substance of the land was rock. The ancient farm we were approaching—ancient by our American standards—had never yielded more than the barest living. To own this was poverty, whereas to own its equivalent in twentieth-century Kansas or California would be riches. The plough could hardly run a rod without being turned. Even the trees were stunted.

Yet a crop had been raised here, a crop of tears and battles. For we had come to that plain little cemetery in which lie the bodies of John Brown and the men who fell around him at Harper's Ferry. From this spot, sixty years ago, Brown started for Virginia; to it was he brought back after striking the chord that was to set hundreds of thousands of armed feet marching, line the Southern horizon with bayonets, fill cemeteries vaster than this, and call the angular lawyer of Springfield to immortality and death.

Regions like this make or confirm fanatics. Let a man sit in this farmhouse, or lie in the shadow of this rock day after day while the sun strides across the sky, or the wind, rain, hail, and snow beat up and down the valley; let him brood upon the wrongs of an oppressed race; let him read his Old Testament—yes, or his New; let him consider the inwardness of Clay compromises and Buchanan diplomacy; let him meditate upon politicians, editors, clergymen, and men of property; let him consider long and carefully all the ease, the luxury, the culture that are erected upon human wrong; let him see how adroitly that wrong is ever made to appear right by those who profit by it; let him think these thoughts year after year; let him test the resulting theories in a debated land with Sharp's rifles and the bowie knife—he will become a dangerous man, a fanatic, and perhaps a saint. The mountains, as he will interpret them, will not have moderation, will not endure compromise, but for blood drawn by the lash will exact with a thousand-fold interest blood drawn by the sword. In the city of New York or the amiable countryside of Virginia the same man might not reason toward these bloody extremes. He would see constant opportunities for adjustment, ways of getting along with those who differed with him. But the mountains are relentless. They will be satisfied with nothing but justice. And these mountains put the final touch to the hard character of old John Brown.

But he and his ten men of blood lie quiet enough now; feet toward the granite rock which was no harder than this dead man's heart, face toward the sky which was no tenderer. If the whole world were full of the cries of the oppressed they would not hear them. Did they leave behind them anything but a heroic story, a story illuminated by the weird light of blazing homes stained with the blood of men, in cold blood as well as hot, done to their deaths? Was there more freedom in America for what this man had done? More tolerance? More friendship between man and man? Were John Brown to walk among men again he would hear the shrieks of the tortured victims of white mobs, would learn of the denial of civil right to a people legally free, would doubt, perhaps, if the oceans of blood which his deed had helped to shed had been of the least avail. Neither he, nor the Grand Army of the Republic, nor Abraham Lincoln have made one black man white.

John Brown standing by his rock in 1919 would see substantially what John Brown saw in 1859. The contours of the mountains and valleys have not altered; the changes of the weather and the seasons are the same. If they drove a man to die for human right in 1859 they would drive him to die for it in 1919. But whom would he attack? In 1859 he fought to alter a bad law, but in 1919 his task would be more difficult; he would have to change the hearts of men, a miracle which is no more possible with the modern machine gun than it was with the Sharp's rifle of the fifties. Would he not be compelled to admit that Abraham the politician, the raconteur, the statesman who forgave his enemies and used them to forward his own purposes, was the nearer to final truth? Or would he still contend, despite his added wisdom, that it is an excellent thing to die for human liberty, even mistakenly?

There are other views of nature than those held by John Brown. These mountains about his burial place may stand, not for eternal justice, but for eternal indifference, or for a supremely tragic irony. Was there a stern joy among them when Brown went out to die, or laughter, or only silence?

In these latter days since we have become so wise, nothing seems certain but the silence and the indifference. Nevertheless Brown did die for what he thought was justice, and if his hills and his Bible and his God knew nothing about it and cared nothing, that may not detract from the mad perfection of his deed. For the fact remains that while other men were comfortable he, murderer, madman, and saint, did, either with the inspiration of something greater than himself or without it, lay down his life. In token of which here is his grave.

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The Range of French Realism

By E. PRESTON DARGAN

WHATEVER the objections to modern French literature, few will deny that it displays a broadness of treatment and a multiplicity of interests in harmony with the complexity of modern life. In opposition to the restricted and intensive perfection of the classical ideal, a certain expansive force has been operating in the world of letters since the Quarrel of Ancients and Moderns. This thesis has been upheld for the eighteenth century literature of knowledge and the nineteenth century literature of Romanticism.* It may now be shown that the range of the French realists is similarly expansive, complex, careless of previous standards.

The term "réalisme" came into vogue and was suspiciously adopted by the critics shortly before 1860; it was immediately associated with the name of Flaubert, the chief artist of the movement. But the true father of realism was Balzac, whose work was done before 1850. Balzac is the historian of French society under four régimes: the Revolution, the Napoleonic era, the Restoration, and the bourgeois monarchy. He deliberately divides this society into groups according to rank and profession: the aristocracy in town and country, the middle class, peasants, and populace. The professional groups are almost numberless: merchants, lawyers, doctors, bohemians, criminals, police, soldiers, courtesans, misers, bankers, *arrivistes* of both sexes and of all descriptions. Each group has its own habits, associations, and characteristics, and it is notable that Balzac makes character largely dependent upon one's business and experience. The numberless ramifications of the "Comédie humaine" are in strong contrast to the simplified generalizing processes of classical art. Equally complex is the moral and material setting which is built up around each important person. We learn of his or her heredity, tastes, financial status, physical appearance, and habitat. Multiplicity of detail, a scientific desire for completeness or representation, the use of documents and *dossiers* in a specialistic manner, a cumulative method in the development of plot and character, a lively concern with historical or local background—these are the things that make for "incomparable solidity" and crown Balzac first of the realistic dynasty.

Flaubert achieves similar results on a smaller scale. He is more intensive and selective, but he probes exhaustively into the heart of a given person, situation, or historical epoch. Emma Bovary, presented in every detail of her life and milieu, remains for all time the model of the thwarted romantic heroine. Her counterpart is the hero—or "no hero"—Frédéric Moreau of "L'Education sentimentale"; the theme here is the inconclusiveness of mediocre life and the plot is deliberately purposeless. Furthermore, just as Emma is portrayed against an elaborate and accurate Norman background, so does Frédéric ineptly live against the picture of a whole historical epoch—the Revolution of 1848. Flaubert spent years in studying this epoch and gives a thorough satirical presentation of its political and social features. His third important effort, "Salammbô," attempts the same completeness for past history; ancient Carthage is revivified to an astonishing extent and the book is a colorful mosaic of reconstructive art.

"Naturalism" may be viewed as a later and more extreme form of realism; it adds to the grimness of realism cruder and more bestial touches and its high priest is Zola. But it is a great mistake to think that Zola is only crude and bestial. His aim was to be a social recorder and reformer on a vast scale, to set forth the "natural and social history of a family under the Second Empire." The twenty volumes of the Rougon-Macquart series are thus modeled on Balzac, though with more emphasis on heredity and on the lower strata of humanity. Zola shows much care for scientific documentation. The novels form successive monographs on the lives of laborers, clerks, peasants, drunkards, courtesans, spenders, priests, soldiers, workers of all sorts. The series really constitutes an epic of low life, and the epic manner again tends to crush individual portraiture. We have rather huge personifications of a mine, a locomotive, a saloon, or a bleeding forest. Zola's strength is shown particularly in the handling of crowds and in dealing with the interests of labor. His constructive architectonics are slow but heavily impressive. He is often pseudo-romantic or excessively coarse, but his best novels, such as "Germinal" or "La Débâcle," are powerful productions. Zola carries on the literary transposition effected by Balzac: realism stresses force and "life-force" rather than beauty.

One of the main doctrines of Flaubert and of the succeeding school was a consistent impersonality of treatment. Flaubert's chief disciple, Maupassant, carried this to a degree of impassivity which is sometimes brutal. Impartially or ironically he surveys modern life, and in his two hundred and twelve short stories he shows the widest range and variety of all French *raconteurs*. The peasants of Normandy, the bureaucracy of Paris, the society of the Riviera, tales of travel, of war, of the spiritual borderland—all of these subjects are definitely localized and "realized." That is the main technical element which Maupassant adds to his classic progenitors, such as La Fontaine. Otherwise he represents the classical virtues: clearness and simplicity of style, precision and concision, balance and control, the search for average truth. But the old Gaulois gaiety is usually overridden by Maupassant's fundamental pessimism. His novels, "Une Vie" or "Bel-Ami," for instance, generally preach the nothingness of life, whose poor prizes are to be reached only by a sensual materialism. Maupassant mingles love and nature into one crude force. The lapidary quality of his style can best be perceived in his "surprise" endings.

The four novelists so far considered were all endowed with a certain robustness of physique or talent; but realism was wide enough in its methods to include also the nervous impressionable kind of writing. This is exemplified in the work of the Goncourt brothers and in that of Alphonse Daudet. The former, even before Zola, produced in their "Germinie Lacerteux" (1865) the model of much that followed in the naturalistic depiction of life's lower strata. In collaboration or singly, the brothers made other realistic studies of journalism, hospital life, prostitution, as well as of the modern young girl ("Renée Mauperin"), of Catholicism, the circus, and the stage. They were much alive to the importance of external objects—"la bibeloterie." Like others of the school, they made quantities of observations and notes, even seeking contributions of psychological facts from their readers and friends. They were impressionistic in two senses: first in the meticulousness with which they noted the multitude of their own impressions, then in the nervous, telegraphic, apparently slapdash, or moody style

* *The Nation*, April 25 and October 5, 1918.

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which has become associated with the word "impressionistic." This added a new and personal flavor to realism; the fact is that by temperament the brothers were perpetually aware of a sore conflict between art and life.

Alphonse Daudet was also a seeker after truth, but this he often treated in humorous or sentimental fashion. The first quality is illustrated by his "Tartarin," and the second by the amount of feeling revealed, for instance, in "Fromont jeune et Risler aîné." The latter volume is remarkable as presenting a close study of a business partnership, together with the portrait of Sidonie, the French Becky Sharp. Apart from minor studies, Daudet has also left two large frescoes: the "Nabab," which reveals much of the inner history of the Second Empire, and the famous "Sapho," with its depiction of contemporary Bohemia. These two novels are complete and powerful productions. They are based on actuality, even too closely, since many of the figures are quite recognizable. Daudet generally wrote of things that he knew about and he was a persistent note-taker. But he also has imagination, fancy and feeling, and has won more sympathy in Anglo-Saxon countries than other naturalists.

The bulk of the realistic effort was in the domain of fiction, but one should briefly consider similar achievements in criticism, drama, and poetry. The chief critics of the period were also affected by the scientific virus, and Taine especially has close analogies with Balzac in his method of accumulating and harmonizing facts. In their treatment of the realistic movement, the critics show first a fear for the humanistic tradition, then a progressive yielding before the force of naturalism. Sainte-Beuve finally admits the creative power of the "Comédie humaine" and will "accept reality," even if shorn of beauty and idealism. Taine, in a celebrated essay, spreads the fame of Balzac (1858), and Brunetière ultimately appraises him as representing the apogee of French fiction. Similarly, Anatole France and Lemaître are brought around to a modified acceptance of Zola. But Brunetière had previously ("Le Roman naturaliste," 1882) made a vigorous assault on Zolaistic naturalism and had done much to discredit the excesses of the school.

In the drama, A. Dumas *fils* and Emile Augier are the first conscientious and capable realists and they begin their work in the fifties. Dumas *fils* is extremely good in his presentation of shady or moneyed *milieux* ("Le Demi-monde," "La Question d'Argent"), where several illustrations of the same problem are displayed in plot and sub-plot. This repetition of the main motif, together with a logical progression of scenes and a tendency towards gathering up loose threads, causes some critics to consider Dumas *fils* the originator of "la pièce bien faite," which is more mathematical than realistic. It is true that we generally have a swift march to a foregone conclusion—with this author two and two inevitably make four. But his close study of character and setting, his concern with marital and social questions, and his well-fitting prose style attest his realistic value. This is, however, hampered by an unfortunate vein of sermonizing. Emile Augier is more dexterous in insinuating his thesis. Like Molière, he keeps an apparent balance of ideas, characters, and scenes. His "Poirier" is the lineal descendant of "Le Bourgeois gentilhomme," and it is the best bourgeois sense that Augier expresses. His social range is wider than that of Dumas *fils*. Beginning with studies of marriage and the family, he first demands the suppression of the vampire and is suspicious of romantic passion ("Gabrielle," "Le Mariage d'Olympe"). He views the family also in its relation to organized society. Then he passes to the consideration of large social groups, such as journalists, clerical intriguers, the aristocratic and wealthy circles ("Les Effrontés," "Fils de Giboyer"). There is no note of excess in Augier's realism. He is a happy combination of sanity and talent, which scarcely becomes genius. Misanthropic naturalism is rather to the fore in the work of Henry Becque, whose masterpiece, "Les Corbeaux," has much grim power, and whose method shows a preference for the "raw slices of life," not necessarily bound into a dramatic whole. In our own times, Brieux is the logical successor of the realistic dramatists and one needs only to recall the titles of his plays to perceive that he investigates sociologically one department of life after another. He combines with this the zeal of the reformer and a very hearty interest in the poorer classes.

Finally, in poetry, one may mention the names of François Coppée and Leconte de Lisle. These represent respectively two of the main ideas of realism: democracy and science. Coppée endeavored to present poetically ("Les Humbles") the life of common folk in town and country; the effort was only partially successful. Leconte de Lisle, chief of the "Parnassian" school, was really a master-poet and combined a finished sense of form with a desire to attain historical truth. He naturally went to the past for his inspirations and he presents ("Poèmes barbares," "Poèmes antiques") a series of small epics celebrating the high moments of humanity or its chief leaders. Hugo had a similar scheme in the "Légende des siècles" and Heredia in his "Trophées" follows Leconte de Lisle. The idea has much philosophic worth, and that is what Leconte de Lisle chiefly emphasizes. His main qualities are objectivity, scientific erudition, an Oriental pessimism of the "flux," and a high degree of plastic beauty. The first two traits especially link him to the realistic generation. The whole generation is, indeed, abundantly pessimistic, but less because of a reasoned philosophy than because of the Franco-Prussian War and the oppression of modern materialism.

French realism is of great historical importance as a movement widely representative of its times. The endeavor to treat actual social facts and categories is found in Molière, Diderot, and other earlier men, but it came to its full fruition only in the nineteenth century. The movement is as expansive and heterogeneous as the restless industrial democracy which it depicts.

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Correspondence

Propaganda in Schools

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I am a reader of *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, and *The Dial*, and to two of these papers I have contributed. As American Correspondent of the London *Daily News*, I believe that I was alone in cabling Mr. Bullitt's evidence fully to Europe. I am also the father of two children who attend school in New York, while my eldest son is at Columbia University. Frankly, I cannot agree with your paragraph on page 673 which deals with alleged Bolshevist teaching.

We in England admire the American system of education because it definitely excludes religious teaching from schools paid for by all classes. If it is right to teach Bolshevism at the public expense, it is also right to teach Catholicism and Protestantism, or any other faith. When I was at school in England, no teacher ever thought of using the class room for his own personal, political or religious propaganda. The object was education, that is, the endeavor to make the mind of the pupil capable of dealing with such questions when they arise, and the best method of doing this was to encourage the boy and girl to be a boy and girl and not to turn them into little Socialists, or little Liberals, or little Tories. When I was standing for Parliament our local authority in London stopped a school propaganda affecting the election, and I am bound to add that if our children, forced to attend school under compulsion of law came home with highly controversial and extremist articles in the press as their mental food at an immature age, we should feel that we had just reason for complaint in their interests, and my wife was born an American citizen. It is not simply a question of the rights of the teacher, it is also a question of the rights of the child for which the parent is trustee.

It seems to me that there is no difference between the action of a Bolshevist teacher teaching Bolshevism and the action of a Catholic teacher who illegally teaches Catholicism, or of an Evangelical teacher who illegally tries to bring the children to a penitent form. If I am wrong in this, I feel sure that you will point out the error.

New York, December 22 P. W. WILSON

The Nation agrees with its correspondent that propaganda should be kept out of the schools, but this should apply to arguments against Bolshevism as well as in its favor. A large part of the so-called Americanization now going on, if not definitely anti-Bolshevist in character, is at least aimed at maintaining the *status quo* in industry and politics. Besides, the teacher in question seems to have been condemned rather for his opinions than for his teachings. Dr. Tildsley said, for instance, that the teacher had "seemed to approve sentiments expressed in favor of the Bolshevists."—Editor.

Defenders of the Despised

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the mining and lumber regions of the State of Washington the white terror is in charge, and the courts and newspapers are among its instruments. The I. W. W. fight with speeches and literature; the lumber and copper interests fight with criminal syndicalism laws, aided by the careful denial of those constitutional rights important to persons accused of crime: jails against syllogisms.

Scores of members of the I. W. W. are now being prosecuted on charges of syndicalism, viz., for the overt act of remaining members of their union. The murder charge arising out of the Centralia affair is being pushed to trial, and other important cases against the organization are being set for approximately the same date, and in different places, with the result that the accused are deprived of the benefit of counsel in many instances. I am informed that in the injunction proceedings at Spokane the principal defendant conducted the defense. This situation requires a word of explanation.

A lawyer cannot accept regular employment from the I. W. W. and remain respectable. He becomes a "wobbly lawyer." After his first offense his bridges are burned; he can (and does) work night and day for his socially-despised clients, but his general practice comes to an end. Business men will not (and if they would, dare not) employ him. For this reason it is hard for the I. W. W. to get attorneys to defend their cases, and impossible to get able attorneys for all the important cases when the prosecutions are concurrent and in different courts. The accused are thus denied their right to counsel, probably by reason of a deliberate plan.

The writer's firm defended a member of the I. W. W. during the war. Thereafter, although it was a local case and part of our general practice, clients of our office were advised to take their business elsewhere, for the stated reason that we had defended a member of the I. W. W. The white terror employs the economic blockade against individuals as well as nations.

Are there not a few attorneys in New York who feel sufficiently independent to step into the breach? The fight is not for syndicalism, but for American institutions. One of the Centralia defendants is Elmer Smith, a lawyer, charged with murder jointly with those who took part in the shooting, and *denied a separate trial*, although it is understood the case against him is based on his having advised the others to arm and defend themselves.

Montana, January 14 W. L.

The Tardy Lifting of the Blockade

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The announcement by the Supreme Council at Paris that the infamous Russian blockade would be suspended, and that reasonable exchange of goods between "the Russian people and allied and neutral countries" would be resumed, is a glimmer of light in a dark international outlook. I cannot, however, refrain from pointing the moral and adorning the tale.

The principle that irrespective of our attitude toward the Lenin government, trade relations in non-military supplies should be permitted and even encouraged, was early adopted last year at Paris by a little group of young men who were working upon Russian questions. The reasons for it were simple, sensible, and humane: no war against the Communists could be decently run (if it was to be run at all) on a platform of starving innocent noncombatants, most of whom were least in favor of the Soviet government; and further, the single stabilizing influence which we could apply toward Russia was that of civilized trade. Law has no meaning to an outlaw. These principles, with the then adventitious argument that denial of them left Russia at the mercy of German and Japanese adventurers, were presented to the American delegation. The four commissioners, to their credit, met the idea hospitably. The President either never heard of it or did not see fit to adopt it. Though substantially it amounted to doing in a normal way what Nansen was forced to propose in an abnormal way—to which all the Powers agreed—it did not prove sufficiently attractive to anyone, even though backed by men like Colonel House and Secretary Lansing.

Time now shows that this group of younger men, and their more eminent supporters, were right. Had the communiqué published this morning been made just a year ago, there would have been thousands of women and children living in Russia who have since filled the quick-lime pits; our 'scutcheon would have been clear of considerable inexcusable murder; very possibly the hideous incident of the French attempt to declare a protectorate over the Ukraine through the Langeron negotiations would never have occurred; and we should have had this great-

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est of European nations (for Russia will be that in time through sheer economic and numerical strength) as our fast friend.

Now the word is spoken; and America has no voice in it. The men who advocated the move have in part been silenced, some have been broken outright, on the altar of the European opposition. Yet the Europeans have taken over the idea. There remains but one further step: for America to join whole-heartedly; to forget, for the time being, her hysterical fear of the Soviet government and, disregarding it, to deal with the Russian people. For time lost there is no remedy—merely regret; but there is always a future.

New York, January 17 A. A. BERLE, JR.

The Significance of the French Elections

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I should like, with your permission, to add a few words to my article on the French General Election reproduced in *The Nation* of December 27, which reached me today.

Taking the averages of the Socialist lists in the various departments, the total Socialist vote was about 1,720,000. This, as you have said, is the largest vote that the Socialists have ever obtained. The Socialist vote at the three previous general elections was as follows: 1906, 877,999; 1910, 1,110,561; 1914, 1,396,771. Since 1906, therefore, the Socialist vote has doubled. The fact that the Socialists lost thirty-seven seats on November 16 merely shows that the new electoral system is grossly unjust. They ought to have gained between fifty and sixty seats.

This increase in the Socialist vote is remarkable for more than one reason. In the first place all the bourgeois parties, with the exception of a few men like M. Painlevé, M. Ferdinand Buisson, and M. Dalbiez, who remained true to their principles, combined for the first time in the history of the Third Republic against the Socialists, whereas in 1914 the Socialists and the Radicals had a working arrangement for the second ballots. In the second place the Socialist party presented itself to the country in November with an uncompromising revolutionary program of the kind that it is now the fashion to call "Bolshevist." In the third place the total poll was the smallest in the history of the Third Republic. In 1914 about 8,700,000 electors voted in France (without Alsace-Lorraine); in November, 1919, the total number of voters in France (including Alsace-Lorraine) was about 6,800,000, a decrease of 1,900,000. The increase in the Socialist vote is, therefore, even greater proportionately than actually. In 1914 it was sixteen per cent. of the total vote; in 1919 it was twenty-five per cent. I wonder whether the American pressmen who, you say, saw in the French election of November 16 "only a crushing defeat of radicalism" would be of the same opinion about an American election in which twenty-five per cent. of the voters voted "Bolshevist."

The diminished vote on November 16 is partly, of course, accounted for by the loss of a million and a half men in the war. But of the men killed in the war at least 300,000 had not passed the age of active military services and were, therefore, not electors. Further, Alsace-Lorraine added about 400,000 electors to the register. It follows that about 1,100,000 more electors abstained from voting on November 16 than in 1914. This is one of the most significant facts about the recent election, for it is a symptom of the widespread disgust with parliamentary institutions. There were already in 1906, 1910, ond 1914 a considerable number of electors that refused to vote because they objected to parliamentary methods on revolutionary grounds. That number is now increased by more than a million. I hear from all sides in France that the new abstentionists on November 16 were mainly discharged soldiers, who held Parliament as a whole responsible for the prolongation of the war and who refused to vote for any parliamentary candidate.

London, January 9 ROBERT DELL

Weary of Military Training

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: You may be interested in a quotation from the report of President Lowell of Harvard, which I have not seen used in the press. The italics are mine:

"In connection with the war and its aftermath it may be appropriate to say a word here about the present condition of military training. The times are not propitious for a military unit, and it was perfectly clear that a beginning could not be made before the opening of the new college year. The men who have returned from active service, and even those who were in the Students' Army Training Corps, *are as a rule weary of military training*, and they include practically every able-bodied man except in the entering class, and Freshmen are not eager to follow unless upper-classmen lead the way. In spite of this the new artillery unit has started with 120 members—a distinctly satisfactory result under the circumstances, and one that promises a good enrollment in the future."

In other words, as soon as the men who have actually done any fighting get out of college, Harvard will become quite a military establishment.

Boston, February 3. LEE SOMERS.

Native and Naturalized Humiliation

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of January 10 I read with rueful interest the paragraph from *Kievlianin* which you printed under the caption, "Torture by Fear."

May I add a word about the status of Mr. V. Choulguin, the author of these anti-Semitic utterances? Your notice speaks of him as "one of the best-known Ukrainian authors." True, he is a Ukrainian by race, but he has never been identified with the Ukrainian national movement. As your item explains, he is a friend of Denikin and a supporter of the Denikin venture. His newspaper, *Kievlianin*, is the most reactionary in Kiev. He is not friendly to the Republic of Ukraine, nor to any movement for self-government originating with the people. Everything he has written shows his desire to return to something resembling the old order of things in Russia.

This should not be taken as a blanket endeavor to identify all adherents of Denikin with anti-Semitic policies. It does, however, seem desirable to have it well understood that the leaders of the Ukrainian People's Republic do not entertain these prejudices. The pogroms are most deplorable, but they have unfortunately persisted, because of age-long misunderstandings and frictions, coupled with the sinister influence of those in high places. Among the latter agencies, the Ukrainian People's Republic must not be counted. The Republic has issued and spread throughout the country proclamations condemning pogroms, and Petlura has despatched a number of orders to the army, including one which declares that anyone who takes part in the pogroms is "a traitor and an enemy of our country, and he must be placed beyond the pale of human society." Four ministers of the Republic are Jews, and Israel Zangwill, whose race loyalty is not open to question, recently wrote to the President of the Ukrainian delegation in London: "Your government is working hard, if not perhaps its hardest, to stop massacres for which the unsettled state of Russia is largely responsible. The national rights you have given to the Jews are a manifestation of true statesmanship and in shining contrast with the Jewish policy of Poland."

As a Ukrainian by race, I look with humiliation upon the record of Jewish pogroms; a sentiment akin to the shame I feel, as a United States citizen, at the Negro race riots which have taken place in Chicago, Washington, Omaha, and elsewhere.

Washington, January 25 MIROSLAV GICHINSKY

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Statues

By EMANUEL MORGAN

I HAD seen them many times,
As the sculptors had seen them and moulded them,
And I had wondered what arms folded them long since,
And what faces found the rhymes of their lips.

I had seen them fixed in bronze above my moving feet,
I had seen them frozen in stone in their galleries,
And I had wondered who warmed them once, chosen
In the night, winding them in love.

And you were one of them and were lately strange
And distant as the dead . . .
But now, turning your head from the marble toward mine,
You are changing

And, unmooned, are divesting you of quiet,
Even forsaking the ease of death,
To be making in my breast
This wound.

Literature

A Stormy Petrel

Memories. By Lord Fisher. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

THIS book is admittedly without plan or sequence, "not an autobiography, but a collection of memories of a lifelong war against limpets, parasites, sycophants, and jelly-fish." But at the same time it is a great deal more. The letters to Lord Esher, written between 1903 and 1912, reveal more especially the workings of a clever, single-minded, and forceful personality, striving—against all sorts of opposition—to achieve one steady purpose, the fighting efficiency of the British Fleet. Lord Fisher likens his method of working to that of the mole. "Trace me by upheavals! When you see the Admirals rise it's that d——d fellow Jack Fisher taking the rise out of them!" He early foresaw the immense importance of wireless, the eventual substitution of oil for coal, and the future predominance of aerial craft; and his dream was to fuse the army into the navy for purposes of combined action, so that "In the splendid words of Sir Edward Grey: 'The British Army should be a projectile to be fired by the British Navy.'"

Lord Fisher's whole preparations were directed towards war with Germany, which in 1905 he predicted would occur in August, 1914. In a letter to King Edward in 1907 he declares: *"The only thing in the world that England has to fear is Germany, and none else"*; and in another in 1908 he says: *"Russia and Turkey are the two Powers, and the only two Powers, that matter to us as against Germany, and that we have eventually to fight Germany is just as sure as anything can be, solely because she can't expand commercially without it."* His own plan for meeting this contingency, was to "Copenhagen" the German Fleet at Kiel.

"In May, 1907, England had seven 'Dreadnoughts' ready for battle, and Germany had not one. And England had flotillas of submarines peculiarly adapted to the shallower German waters when Germany had none.

"Even in 1908 Germany only had four submarines. At that time, in the above letter I wrote to King Edward, I approached His Majesty, and quoted certain apposite sayings of Mr. Pitt about dealing with the probable enemy before he got too strong. It is admitted that it was not quite a gentlemanly sort of thing for Nelson to go and destroy the Danish Fleet at Copenhagen without notice, but 'la raison du plus fort est toujours la meilleure.'

"Therefore, in view of the known steadfast German purpose, as always unmitigatedly set forth by the German High Authority that it was Germany's set intention to make even England's mighty Navy hesitate at sea, it seemed to me simply a sagacious act on England's part to seize the German Fleet when it was so very easy of accomplishment in the manner I sketched out to His Majesty, and probably without bloodshed. But, alas! even the very whisper of it excited exasperation against the supposed bellicose, but really peaceful, First Sea Lord, and the project was damned.

". . . This proposal of mine having been discarded, all that then remained for our inevitable war with Germany was to continue the concentration of our whole Naval strength in the Decisive Theatre of the War, in Northern Waters, which was so unostentatiously carried out that it was only Admiral Mahan's article in *The Scientific American* that drew attention to the fact, when he said that 88 per cent. of England's guns were pointed at Germany."

No one was ever more direct than Lord Fisher. "War is Big Conceptions and Quick Decisions. Think in Oceans. Shoot at Sight! The essence of War is Violence. Moderation in War is Imbecility." In a letter to Lord Esher in 1912, relating how Mr. Norman Angell held him up in "The Great Illusion" as a "Terror!" for such views, he says: "perhaps I went a little too far when I said I would boil the prisoners in oil and murder the innocent in cold blood, etc., etc., etc., . . . but it's quite silly not to make War damnable to the whole mass of your enemy's population, which of course is the secret of maintaining the right of Capture of Private Property at Sea. As you say, it must be proclaimed in the most public and most authoritative manner that direct and indirect trade between Great Britain, *including every part of the British Empire*, and Germany must cease in time of war. . . . When war does come *'Might is Right!' and the Admiralty will know what to do!* Nevertheless, it is a most serious drawback not making public to the world beforehand what we mean by War!"

Lord Fisher does think in oceans, but it is in terms of British-owned oceans, although he condescends to allow America to associate with Great Britain in an anglicized world. "My reluctance to this book being published before my death," he says, "is increasingly definite; but I have put my hand to the plough, because of the overbearing argument that I cannot resist, that I shall be helping to (a) Avoid national bankruptcy. (b) Avert the insanity and wickedness of building a Navy against the United States. (c) Establish a union with America, as advocated by John Bright and Mr. Roosevelt. (d) Enable the United States and British Navies to say to all other Navies 'If you build more, we will fight you, here and now. We'll "Copenhangen" you, without remorse.'" He is emphatic in condemning the extravagance of the British administration since the Armistice, and considers that they have "made the very damnedest mess of Russia ever made in this world." "Supposing," he observes, "a French Army landed at Dover to help us subjugate Ireland? I guess we should all forget whether we were Tories or Carsons or Smillies, and unite to get this French army out of our Archangel, and the Entente Cordial would be 'in the cart,' as the vulgar say."

His criticisms of the conduct of the war are also scathing, for he feels he could have stopped it by naval action in 1916. "All we have done in this war," he says, "is to imitate the Germans! We have neither been Napoleonic in Audacity nor Cromwellian in Thoroughness nor Nelsonic in execution. Always, always, always 'TOO LATE'!" He complains that even his plan of mining the North Sea was adopted too late. "That British Mining Policy blocked the North Sea entrance to the Kiel Canal —that British Mining Policy dished the neutrals. When the neutrals got blown up you swore it was a German mine—it was

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the Germans who began laying mines; and a mine, when it blows you up, don't hand you a ticket like a passport, saying what nationality it is. In fact, our mines were so damned bad they couldn't help believing it was a German mine." When the British Foreign Office finally did allow this policy, "the United States sent over mines in thousands upon thousands, and we're still trying to pick 'em up, in such vast numbers were they laid down!"

Many delightful anecdotes testify to the more irresistible side of Lord Fisher's personality, and his staunch praise of his friends, his inimitable descriptions of many sea captains, and his warm appreciation of the British Merchant Navy also show fine traits of discernment and character. That in regard to matters of war he is "Ruthless, Relentless, Remorseless" is after all the logical outcome of the system. Just so long as national wealth is expended on vast armaments, and lives are trained almost from babyhood (Lord Fisher believes in catching sailors very young) in the science of annihilation, experts of this order will be produced, though they will usually be less candid. His violence is professional and does not spring from personal animosity, and he has at least the manly qualities lacking to those "old women of both sexes" who, however they may have cheered on the Fight to a Finish from their firesides, will be the first to hold up hands of horror at his straightforward truisms.

B. U. BURKE

Kerensky the Pathetic

The Prelude to Bolshevism. By A. F. Kerensky. Dodd, Mead and Company.

KERENSKY'S was the ungrateful rôle of a scapegoat. For eight months he personified the transitional period between the political revolution of March and the social revolution of November. As a transitional figure he qualified particularly well: mediocre in statesmanship and feeble of will, he forced no issues, but kept the country in a state of intense fermentation, and through his passivity helped things come to a head. With the arrival of this last stage, Kerensky's part in affairs, necessary perhaps but unenviable, ceased.

His retrospective impressions have a thoroughly disillusioning effect on those who cherish any particle of hero-worship for this little man of destiny heaved up by the whimsical waves of revolution. He was a second-rate lawyer of the Czarist régime, one of the rank and file of the intelligentsia, honest, sincere, self-sacrificing, surcharged with ideas and ideals at the expense of the power of will, decision, and action. He was everlastingly mindful of the Code. Hence his attempt at holding the revolution within the Procrustean borders of the law; hence his constant vacillation and fear of sanctioning any important measures except in the legal order. Hence his temporizing and compromising, his effort to sail between the Scylla of Restoration and the Charybdis of Bolshevism, his alliance with the manufacturers and merchants, and synchronous flirtation with the Soviets. Hence his protestations of the democratic aims of the war, and his failure to publish the secret treaties. Hence the legalistic procrastination of the land settlement, under the pretext of submitting it to the Constituent Assembly, and the chronic postponement of the convocation of the latter. Hence the Kornilov affair.

General Kornilov was the forerunner of Admiral Kolchak, General Denikin, and such respectables, who were for saving Russia for autocracy, knout, and vodka. Between March and November in the year 1917 tendencies crystallized sharply along two main lines: for the Soviets and against them. Kerensky considers the Kornilov rebellion as "the prelude to Bolshevism." But to find a "fatal link" between the two events, to venture a dubious witticism to the effect that Lenin ought to erect a monument to Kornilov, is a conjecture which, if not used merely for argument's sake, shows both an exaggeration of the import of the military adventure and an underestimation of the elemental significance of the November upheaval. Kerensky's policy of sitting between two chairs could not have lasted indefinitely, and was bound to generate Lenins and Kolchaks-Kornilovs. Revolution eschews Hamlets; it hails Don Quixotes. Kornilov attacked Hamletism in August. He was equipped with the romantic halo of a brave general, and was supported by the "Army," the Cadets, and the banks. That instead of a Napoleon, Kornilov played a Boulanger, was largely due to the fact that he had been counting on the pre-revolutionary Army, and overlooked the revolutionized army. He found no one to lead but his staff. Tired of Kerensky, the masses nevertheless spurned the idea of supplanting him by a general of the old régime.

Kerensky's plight was pathetic. He endeavored to unite "the representatives of all those elements which placed the eternal and general interests of the country above the temporary and private interests of single parties or classes." Reality smashed his romanticism. The elements he tried to unite proved centrifugal and contradictory. Capital and labor, landowners and peasants, officers and privates, the foreign policy of the Soviets and the diplomacy of the Entente, drifted further and further apart. In his book Kerensky does not appear to realize this chief cause of his downfall. His chief service to his country was in giving it this opportunity for ventilating its tendencies and sentiments while he was engaged in the futile task of simultaneously managing two formidable elements, war and revolution. His first attempt at revolutionizing the war, by urging the Allies to subscribe openly to the war aims of New Russia and of President Wilson, was met ultimately with the statement of the Paris Conference that the problem of the day was not as to the aims of the war, but as to how to conduct it. Spurred by the demands of the Allies, Kerensky determined to subordinate the revolution to the war, and accordingly turned to the task of regenerating the demoralized army. He consulted the old generals, at a special conference. "The possibility of settling old scores obscured everything else. All the misfortunes, the catastrophes, the disgrace, the horror of the first three years of the war no longer existed for them. . . . The reason of all reasons, the source of the . . . débâcle, lay solely and exclusively in the Revolution and its influence on the Russian soldier. . . . [Here] for the first time General Denikin outlined the program of the *'revanche.'*"

Yet the dreamer in Kerensky was not beaten by this evidence of animosity toward New Russia on the part of the generals. In his moment of despair he found a straw to cling to, in General Kornilov. The new commander-in-chief acted suspiciously from the very beginning, assuming unlimited power and trying to restore old regulations. The headquarters became the centre of counter-revolutionary plots and conspiracies, but the Premier was helpless. An emissary from Kornilov approached Kerensky with an offer to participate in a dictatorship, and when the idealist indignantly spurned the suggestion, he was told: "If you do not want to be a dictator, we will give you one." All the dark, anti-revolutionary forces were with Kornilov. Kerensky proudly states that he did not lose his head even then, and knowing of the growing conspiracy on the part of the reactionaries, he still refrained from throwing his lot unreservedly on the side of the Soviets. He wished to remain "above interests of classes or parties." When the inevitable happened, and Kornilov raised the revolt, the Premier "rather felt than understood all the extraordinary seriousness of the situation!"

Although the Kornilov rebellion was a complete failure, it revealed the perils that lay in the way of the revolution, as long as the government lukewarmly tolerated the organization of reactionary forces. Beginning with September the composition of the Soviets was growing more and more Bolshevist. Kerensky's orders were openly disregarded and ignored. Trotzky was elected president of the Petrograd Soviet. The transitional period came rapidly to its end.

ALEXANDER KAUN

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England's Rarest

Ben Jonson. By G. Gregory Smith. London: Macmillan & Co.
Ben Jonson's Every Man in His Humour. Edited by Percy Simpson. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

APOLOGIZING for a mountain of man like Ben Jonson must always have seemed, to good catholic minds, as preposterous an occupation as apologizing for a mountain of matter, like, say, Ben Nevis. Something large, not historically, not relatively or provisionally, but absolutely, about this latest arrival among the English Men of Letters precludes many allowances and demands on the whole a champion. Not, it must be said, a champion on the order of Swinburne, who wrote like a nervous wreck, and made no points; but a champion possessed of learning and light, wit, a sound constitution, and a dramatic imagination. The ideal book of Ben Jonson would be like Jonson himself, towering and confident. Its author would first set his stage; he would carve a huge Mars to shake an iron fist from the background; he would splash wings and drops with designs of Leo and Sagittarius; he would train for his Spirits a mad Favonius, a ravenous Ignis, and a lusty Juventus. He would give his hero an excellent "plant" in the form of a chorus of sickly-sweet pseudo-Spensers singing a swan-song and waiting to be knocked down. Then would enter Ben, knock them down, and stand on their faces.

Mr. Smith, in his entirely laudable anxiety to write unlike Swinburne, has written the greater part of his book with too much caution. He has been accurate, of course, and very sane, and often witty; but in his hands Jonson does not arrive with the bustle one expected. The biography is all crowded into the first fifty pages and the remaining two hundred and fifty are left wholly free for criticism: the easiest arrangement, perhaps, but in this case not the best. The facts of a poet's life mean little by themselves, no matter how intelligently a scholar may fit them together. What they want is to be distributed through a commentary on his works, deposited where they are certain either to illuminate or to be illuminated. The one overpowering fact about any poet, that he had the nerve to devote himself to poetry, simply does not need to be stated anywhere. Mr. Smith hoped to expose, as he says he feels, a surface of Jonson somewhat less harsh than that traditionally exposed by critics and felt by readers. It is the more regrettable then that his fifty pages of facts are hard and dreary. Possibly no treatment could make the story of the Dekker-Marston-Munday stage war entertaining; though it can be insisted that the present biographer, had he not committed himself to writing two separate lives, one of a man and one of a poet, could have enlivened his tale with cross-reference and cross-quotation. He is happier when describing Jonson's spectacular walk to Edinburgh and back in 1618-9, happier perhaps because the feat in itself was astonishing, happier perhaps also because Scotland was concerned.

The criticism of Jonson in this volume, frigid and tired as some of it sounds, is nevertheless the best in English. The tragedies are properly discounted here in favor of the comedies, the poems, and the prose, while a dry yet necessary chapter sums up what should be known about the masques. In the department of comedy sufficient recognition is not given to the truly titanic qualities of "Volpone" and "The Alchemist," pieces which otherwise are admirably discussed. An interesting connection is established between Jonson and the Restoration through "The Silent Woman," the sturdy innovator's only play with dialogue bright and careless enough to appeal to Dryden and his brilliant juniors. The hackneyed contrast between Jonson's comic characterization and Shakespeare's is plainly set forth, without any serious attempt being made at a livelier, more concrete analysis than that usually offered. One is not satisfied with hearing merely that Shakespeare stood off and let his characters grow; after all, he had like any mortal playwright to keep his hand on the paper, to control his men and women. The question, what he did that Jonson did not, Mr. Smith does not begin to answer. Not half enough is claimed, in the chapter devoted to the poems, for Johnson's Horatian, occasional vein or his faculty for clear, pure song, two aspects of the man which are likely to remain neglected until a respectable and accessible edition of his non-dramatic verse comes into existence. The famous song to Celia is made a token of the poet's deftness in adapting the classics to his use. The paradox involved in the fact that Jonson's most fluent poem is a mosaic from Philostratus, as Dryden's, on Oldham, is a mosaic from Vergil, implies a rebuke, which Mr. Smith would have done well to develop, for those who speak too glibly of spontaneity in the lyric.

It is only in the last two chapters, those on Jonson's literary criticism and influence, that Professor Smith, himself an authority on sixteenth and seventeenth century poetical theory, comes into his own and does his author the fullest justice. He makes it clear in just what respects Jonson was important, the most important single man, perhaps, of his century, possibly the most important man in three centuries. Demolishing with several well-directed shots the passage-hunters and parallelogrammarians who have tracked "Drink to me only with thine eyes" through Herrick to Prior, and have collected evidence that comic writers before and after 1642 levied incontinently upon the great exploiter of "humours" for plots and characters, he goes straight to the only thing that matters, the critical personality of learned Ben. Thus considered, Jonson begins at once to expand and fill the literary scene as far forward at least as Dryden. In person, before his death, at the taverns, and in tradition, after his death, through principles known to have been his, he more or less made over the minds of those who were to do the finest writing. He killed post-Spenserianism as smaller men today are killing post-Tennysonianism; he established the classics as an indispensable discipline for poets; he put an edge of sanity and severity, even of bitterishness, on English expression; and he educated John Dryden. Having cleared the air, he was venerated to idolatry by those who therefore breathed freer. His seemed to them

> The deepest, plainest, highest, clearest Pen,

to turn and read an inscription on the amazing monument which his survivors labelled *Jonsonus Virbius.*

The complete edition of Jonson, long awaited from the hands of Professor Herford and Mr. Simpson, is heralded now by what Mr. Simpson calls "a pioneer volume." "Every Man in His Humour" has not appeared in so attractive a form since Gifford. The Yale Jonson is hopelessly ponderous, while the three cubes manufactured by Chatto and Windus are desirable only because they are compendious. If the present volume is something of a blue-and-gilt dandy, at least it is light and clean. The introduction dates Jonson's revising and depoetizing of the "Every Man" at 1612, and elaborately documents the history of "humours" in comedy. The text is taken from the folio of 1616. The notes, which need an index, are rich in topographical data, wisely borrowed from Wheatley's edition of 1877.

MARK VAN DOREN

Kino's Memoir

Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta. Translated into English, edited and annotated, by Herbert Eugene Bolton. Cleveland; Arthur H. Clark and Company.

THE present work forms the third and fourth volumes of "Spain in the West," a series of original documents edited by Professor Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California. As in the preceding volumes, the editor's task includes translation and annotation, and an introduction that is at once scholarly and interesting. He also contributes a series of maps, including a large original one showing Pimería Alta in detail and some reprints of Kino's own maps, and a present day view of San Xavier del Bac, a most striking monument of Jesuit work.

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Eusebio Francisco Kino, like many more famous explorers for Spain, was of non-Spanish blood. Italian in name (he commonly spelled it as given above) he was Austro-German in birth, education, and early association. So were many of his fellow Jesuits. Born at Trent, August 10, 1644, he began his novitiate in 1665, gained a reputation as teacher of mathematics, and in 1678 set out for a mission field in New Spain. After considerable delay he arrived in Mexico City in 1681 and was almost immediately assigned to Southern California, but did not reach that field until after further delay of two years. He and his companions made two unsuccessful attempts to found a settlement on the eastern coast of the peninsula, and in 1686 Kino was assigned to Pimería Alta, comprising portions of Mexico, Sonora, and our own Arizona, where he labored until his death in 1711.

These simple details afford little insight into the career of this remarkable man. Nor does his own narrative, modestly called "Celestial Favors," do him full justice. The mere record of his journeys sounds apostolic. As an explorer and missionary he opened up an area of some thirty thousand square miles and baptized as many natives. During the wanderings of a quarter century he crossed the present international boundary at least fourteen times, traversed southern Arizona in several directions to the Gila River, and followed along that stream and the Colorado until finally he reached the mouth of the latter. He demonstrated the feasibility of a land route to Upper California and proved conclusively that Lower California was a peninsula. A shrewd observer who carefully recorded his impressions and noted their wider significance in the future development of church and nation, he was more interested in the prospective conversion of the natives than in their primitive life and customs. His journeys, therefore, were marked by a chain of missions from which developed the native communities of the present day. His record in energetic and much enduring exploration was matched by his ability as a productive ranchman. He wrought with scant resources and with Indian labor, but multiplying heards and thriving crops blessed his labor. Material success marked his efforts, but it was a success that reached fruition in the well-being of the natives, not in his own gain, nor in the mere advancement of his order. Yet he was ambitious for the success of the Jesuits and more than once paused in his narrative to point out how his plans would further national purposes.

Yielding to the urging of his superiors, Kino, at various times, during the last twelve years of his life, wrote out the story of his labors. His contemporaries incorporated portions of his narrative in their own volumes, but the "Favores Celestiales" as a whole was unknown until Mr. Bolton unearthed the manuscript in the Archivo General of Mexico. In the bibliography of Kino's writings, which is as near complete as tireless research can make it, the editor has shown that the priest was a writer of no mean reputation, despite his manifold activities of other sorts. Some of his previous writings have been printed in "Documentos para le Historia de Mexico," but the present publication more than doubles the priest's previously known output. In his introduction and notes Mr. Bolton has drawn extensively on his own previous contributions and the published works of his associates and former pupils. Much supplemental material from Mexico City and Seville has been used to clear up doubtful points in geography and chronology. The mistakes of previous writers, such as Bancroft and Richman, are corrected, and the circumstances surrounding the entry of Kino into Pimería Alta and the development of the region as a step in Spanish expansion are expressed in a clear and authoritative manner. Kino is wisely permitted to tell his own story, for there are in it occasional passages of vivid interest. Mr. Bolton thus supplements the author but does not supersede him. Specialists, who alone will read this work, will regret the announcement that these volumes complete Mr. Bolton's projected series of narratives relating to "Spain in the West."

ISAAC J. COX

The Rise and Fall of the American Theatre

A History of the Theatre in America. By Arthur Hornblow. J. B. Lippincott Company. 2 vols.

THIS is the first full-length history of the American theatre, and if there were others they would have to be very good if Mr. Hornblow's were not the best. The book is founded and grounded in information, so extensive and minute, indeed, that now and then a chapter is as dull to the unconcerned and as fascinating to those with a special interest as Homer's list of ships is wooden to wooden readers but must have been thrilling to the Greeks who caught the allusions and were warmed by the spectacle of the Argive grand fleet. What this new history aims to do is to set forth the career of the drama in the United States as it has been shaped by the conditions of production. One will look in vain in the book for a "philosophy" of the drama or for any considerable criticism of dramatic masterpieces—of those masterpieces which, for reasons expounded by Mr. Hornblow, our theatre has not produced. He has had to write, lacking great playwrights to chronicle or explain, a history of theatres, of managers, of actors. On the whole, the actors fare best at his hands. It is true that he himself multiplies superlatives without enough diversity in dealing with the great figures which he too often says have "trod the boards" in America, but he knows how to quote about them, too; and his record is admirably colored with comments from the best contemporary observers, notably William Dunlap, Joseph Jefferson, Lester Wallack, and such critics as William Winter and J. Ranken Towse.

As to proportions, if Mr. Hornblow errs it is in giving too much space to the history of the American theatre before there was any. Something like a third of his work is devoted to the eighteenth century, which in his hands becomes the most interesting part of the record. Here he has room for his elbows, room for anecdotes and pleasant antiquarian touches which in the later parts of the book are crowded or crowded out by bulkier material. He still breathes freely when he comes to what he calls the "golden Era," the age which saw "the terrifying acting of Edmund Kean, the delicious drollery of Charles Mathews, the extraordinary genius of Junius Brutus Booth, the natural comedy of James H. Hackett, the intellectual art of William Charles Macready, the tempestuous splendor of Edwin Forrest, the irresistible comedy of John Brougham and W. E. Burton, the delightful impersonations of Joseph Jefferson, the majesty and pathos of Charlotte Cushman, the humorous eccentricities of E. A. Sothern's Dundreary, the noble presence and beautiful voice of Edwin Booth, the scholarly and versatile art of Edward L. Davenport, the nobility and charm of John McCullough, the distinction of Lawrence Barrett, the spontaneous humor of the versatile John Gilbert, the loveliness of Mary Anderson, the mournful beauty of Adelaide Neilson, the grace of Fanny Elssler, and many other players of almost equal renown." From the rise of the Frohmans to the present Mr. Hornblow's annals are packed and jammed with names and dates—a part of the book that would be duller if it were longer than one-tenth of the total. These proportions not merely reveal Mr. Hornblow's greater susceptibility to that part of the past which is the more remote; they represent his opinion regarding the course of the American stage, which was conceived and born in a fascinating adversity, came to its meridian in the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century, and has since been steadily beaten down by the broad, damp foot of the commercial manager.

Geographically Mr. Hornblow is under no spell. With due credit to New York, as the theatrical metropolis for many years, he sets forth also the adventures of the drama in every corner of the country. His book should be indispensable for a hundred years to come.

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Young Americans

The Wings of Desire. By Rita Wellman. Moffat, Yard and Company.

Youth Goes Seeking. By Oscar Graeve. Dodd, Mead and Company.

The Swing of the Pendulum. By Adriana Spadoni. Boni and Liveright.

GOOD fiction arises from the contact of the novelist's temper with a dense environment. Such environments are not few among us, but the novelist's temper is rare. It would be easy to mention half a dozen quite good and quite well known American writers of fiction who do not possess it at all. They have a hundred admirable gifts, but they have not that essential disinterestedness, that love of life for its own sake which makes the novelist. Some moralistic vision glimmers before them; they select and mold according to some provincial and transitory scale of values; they pervert their tales for the sake of the morals they mean to point. The generous appetite for mere life, the absorption in human nature as it is—these are virtues commonly possessed only by Americans who are strongly allied to a more recent European tradition either by contact or descent. But such persons are rarely found in Southern villages or Western cities. And from these circumstances there comes the preoccupation with certain salient bits of life and locality in New York city—Gramercy Park, Greenwich Village—that is found more and more often in American fiction. The heavy weight of the native moralistic tradition, furthermore, tends to make the younger novelist an insurgent. He cannot practice his art quite calmly, for he knows that very practice to be an implicit challenge. He is a rootless being and an overwrought one. No wonder that his work is often shrill in tone and thin in substance. He loves fulness of life and objectivity of treatment. But he is too ignorant to attain the one and too uneasy to command the other.

Miss Rita Wellman's "The Wings of Desire" is an instructive example of this new type of American fiction. She is intelligent and eager and full of fine and deep perceptions. She knows that "everything has its hidden and distinct truth and that, since all things are different, this truth is not on the surface and easily recognized." But her book is far too crowded for its length and she has not been able to practice that patient abandoning of oneself to men and things which alone persuades them to give up their "hidden and distinct truth." The ways and thoughts of the "regulars" of society are bitter on her tongue. She fights the Philistines and is the constant captive of her enemies. She has not an objective moment, not one of inner stillness and passive observation. Everything in her book trembles and flickers with the over-eagerness of her own mind. The urgency toward a free art never permits that art to crystallize. The direction is everything, the goal is hardly even in sight. She has either not had the opportunity or not given herself the time to know her people, though no one understands better how they ought to be known. Roger Betton is a mere wraith. Has not his very name a touch of brittle artifice? He is an æsthetic epicure, a wan seeker after new values who has wandered out of the pages of some Continental novel and now treads the Pennsylvania hills and the New York streets. There ought by this time, one can imagine Miss Wellman reflecting, to be such a person in America. But she has not convinced us that there is. Zeta is a gorgeous and logical invention. But she remains an invention. Mildred is truer and so are the two or three women of the half-world. But we get only glimpses and are troubled by the feeling that Miss Wellman had only glimpses to give. She does not, in a word, know enough. It was the same lack of knowledge that gave a confused and fantastic touch to her interesting and ambitious play, "The Gentile Wife." She can fill the frame of a short story or a one-act play. To produce longer works she must strive less and watch more.

In Mr. Oscar Graeve's "Youth Goes Seeking" that involuntary poverty of content becomes appalling. Henry Baker leaves his uncle's comfortable bourgeois household on Brooklyn Heights and takes up his abode in Greenwich village. Here he meets a shadowy little group of people that is riotous in a rather anæmic fashion. He meets Anne, the enigmatic, and Sadie, the eternally feminine, and with the latter returns to Brooklyn Heights, takes charge of his uncle's factory and becomes a model employer of labor. Of outer happenings in the world of sense that is, of course, quite enough. But there is no richness, no depth, no flavor. The skeleton is there, but neither flesh nor a soul. The people and the places have not been broodingly seen or passionately felt. Mr. Graeve is capable of doing both. But in that intimate sense, so indispensable to the novelist, he knows even less than Miss Wellman. He is liberal and without prejudices and aware of what a novel really is. He studs his narrative with correct details and his people with correct qualities. And it is all done quite in vain, because there has been no psychical saturation, only an intelligent and distant selection of scene and plot and characters. It is clear that he absorbed nothing unconsciously, either on Brooklyn Heights or on West Eleventh Street. And one wonders whether there is not some quite different environment that Mr. Graeve knows with an unbought knowledge but which it seemed to him not wise to cultivate in literature today.

The very length of Miss Spadoni's "The Swing of the Pendulum" pleads in its favor. To any one who has ever attempted to write a novel that will be clear at once. The very great novels are nearly all very long novels. The true novelist has a mind overflowing with facts and impressions—with a thousand gestures once seen and forever captured, with multitudes of broken words that have revealed infinite vistas of life. To hold the serious attention of serious readers through nearly five hundred pages argues at once a kinship with the wealthy mind of the true novelist. And such a kinship Miss Spadoni undoubtedly possesses. Her structure is a little rigid. It is a little too clear that she has been in continuous contact with women whose aspirations were somewhat set and conscious. Her heroine, Jean Norris, does not ever quite let herself go. Even in the woods with her lover she remains the pillar of organized charity. It is the minor characters who, as is often the case, reveal Miss Spadoni's extraordinary ability. Mrs. Norris is a creation that comes from a great depth of experience and clarity of vision; so is the blundering, passionate Philip and the acrid and furtive Catherine. The scenes have the moral density that does indeed house life and there are quiet catastrophes in which the meaning of things, at once too subtle and too large for any form of words, arises suddenly and finds the heart. The story is free and rich, clear and concrete at the same time. Miss Spadoni comes very near to vindicating the unconventional mind's power to experience and record. The vindication is needed. The polemics, however appealing, do not make for art.

Books in Brief

IT helps explain Bernard Shaw and his deft skinning of the popular sentimentalists that surrounded him in his nonage to read the Old Colony Stories—"Betty Alden," "David Alden's Daughter and Other Stories," "Dr. LeBaron and His Daughters," "A Nameless Nobleman," "Standish of Standish" (Houghton Mifflin)—which the publishers have put forth in a new uniform edition with the avowed hope that these narratives, of late thought old-fashioned, will now seem less so in the midst of a current affection for the remote and the exotic. Was the world really as sentimental as this on the eve of the Chicago Exposition? It is not so much that the stories moon too much over the glories of Plymouth and the Pilgrims; nor that they ring the changes unceasingly upon a few well-remembered personages and episodes from the annals of the Old Colony; nor

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that they are bound to the Fathers with a natural piety that represents them as always right and brave and just, even in their savage dealings with the savages; but that from these records the Mayflower and Plymouth Rock and the village and the adjacent hills and forest appear to have been forever simmering in a love which, had it existed, would in a few days have melted Miles Standish and quite consumed such softer fellows as William Bradford and John Alden. To an age more skeptical of languishing gestures and the jargon ascribed by women novelists to the polite lovers of the seventeenth century, these stories will seem, as Mr. Mencken might say, the visions of virgins and the nonsense of nuns. At the same time it must be admitted that, if all question of reality is waived and the stories are read, piecemeal, with amused curiosity, they have the kind of charm which long inheres in old fashion plates. The outlines seem false, the colors faded, the attitudes often absurd; but something has kept them sweetish, if not sweet, as something has kept sweet as well as sweetish the hoop-skirted belles of *Godey's Lady's Book*.

TO read Spenser at large is as easy as breathing; to remember him in detail is as hard as holding fast to a dream. Even his lovers when they approach sometimes find themselves tricked as was Ixion with his cloud. And yet the essential substance of Spenser is so valuable and the multitude of his riches so magnificent that there was a real need of the service which Professor Charles Huntington Whitman of Rutgers has admirably performed in his "Subject-Index to the Poems of Edmund Spenser" (Yale University Press). Not a complete concordance, like that of Professor Osgood, it is, however, something more: it is index and dictionary and almost commentary all in one. As such it must take its place forthwith as the indispensable companion to Spenser's poetry. Herein may be traced the tortuous and confusing careers of his personages through the mazes of "The Faery Queen"; herein at a glance may be seen their allegorical significance in every aspect. The book is a glossary to Spenser's difficult meanings, and it amounts, rightly used, to a thesaurus of familiar quotations and golden images. Nowhere else can Spencer's ideas and doctrines be studied so well. Under Form and Soul, for instance, may be found the passages, quoted or cited, which set forth his Platonic creed. And so on and on to the very center and borders of his work. The whole is knit together by a skilful system of cross references which for the first time brings the most dispersed of poets into convenient bounds. Such lexicography is more than compression; it is more than simplification; it is distillation.

WHAT is being widely advertised as the first complete American edition of Boccaccio's "Decameron" (Stewart & Kidd) may be American, but it is not complete. The moral tale of the ardent Alibech and the disappointing Rustico has indeed been de-expurgated of the Italian passages which commonly drape its candor from Anglo-Saxon eyes; but on some inexplicable principle of compensation the story of Pietro and Gemmata and their benefactor, Dom Gianni, though generally translated in full, here wears a thin veil of its native dialect. The song of the nightingale is chastened almost to unintelligibility in this "complete" version; Masetto da Lamporecchio gets off far more easily than in the original; the wild horses of Parthia never appear at all: scores of such omissions could be cited. Undergraduates and certain elderly gentlemen expert in the book will be warned by this catalogue of shortcomings. Unfortunately, there is nothing about the present edition to make it seem intended for any but such amateurs of jocular literature. Few scholars will advance far enough into the volume to detect its preposterous mistranslations—at least few will do so who have read the Publisher's Introduction, which is a mosaic of errors.

AMERICAN church history, compared with that of other countries, has long been a field so much neglected that all attempts to cultivate it are doubly welcome to the scholar. Especially this is the case when so attractive a subject as "Progressive Religious Thought in America" (Houghton Mifflin) is dealt with in so sympathetic a way as that of Professor John W. Buckham. Shunning the great mass-movements on the one side and the philosophic depths of thought on the other, he yet does a real service by bringing together and presenting in facile, richly tinted style, the lives of typical religious leaders of the last generation. In such good company as that of Horace Bushnell, Theodore T. Munger, George A. Gordon, William J. Tucker, and Washington Gladden, all is intensely America at her best: progressive but decidedly "safe and sane," practical, optimistic, and social. So unsectarian are the author's sympathies that he pays his compliments to Catholics, Swedenborgians, and Quakers as well as to Congregationalists and Presbyterians. In his cheering view, oriented just to the left of the center, almost everyone is progressive, and almost everything is good. God was not more pleased with creation when he had just finished it than is Professor Buckham now. Though not indiscriminate, his praise is lavish; the butter and honey are spread thick and impartially for all the good children whose very names this exuberant lover of his kind enjoys repeating. A large number of theological seminaries are commended, and so are the journals—among them *The Nation*—that offer "a broad and intelligent discussion of religious problems." If it is refreshing to read such a book, it is even more stimulating to learn that the churches feel the weight of the problem now on their hands. Perhaps a sentence quoted from Washington Gladden, first published in 1918, brings this out as well as anything: "If after the war the church keeps on with the same old religion, there will be the same old hell on earth that religious leaders have been preparing for centuries, the full fruit of which we are gathering now. The church must cease to sanction those principles of militaristic and atheistic nationalism by which the rulers of the earth have so long kept the world at war."

THE Venezuelan historian, Andrés F. Ponte, has gathered into a volume a number of essays, "Bolívar y otros ensayos" (Caracas: Tipografía Cosmos). All these studies are the result of careful research. The most important chapter is a history of the loss of the island of Trinidad to the British. Other monographs deal with the genealogy of Bolivar, Bolivar as an orator, and the first public convention of Venezuela. Readers in the United States will be most interested in the study of the Bolivar Doctrine. It had its genesis as early as 1810, when the Liberator promulgated his idea of La Liga Anfictiónica, which was to be a league of American states associated to insure the territorial integrity of each. This formula, Señor Ponte holds, was broader and more idealistic than the Monroe Doctrine, which was aimed solely against European aggression; and the old question of *qui custodiet custodes* has ever since been a source of misunderstanding. Bolivar sought to realize his conception in the Panama Congress of 1826. He failed, partly on account of the weakness and disorder of the South American states, partly because our own diplomacy did not measure up to Bolivar's lofty idealism. Señor Ponte next reviews Wilson's interpretations of the Monroe Doctrine and finds that Bolivar and the President are agreed in most respects. He is not so unkind as to point out discrepancies between words and deeds.

THE old Gallic fiction of the fabliau is employed in two little French war stories by Pierre Chaine (Paris: A L'Œuvre). In "Les Memoires d'un Rat" we have the life of the trenches as seen through the eyes of Ferdinand the super-rat, who tells his story in a style full of characteristic French humor and anecdote. In place of the literary trench life offered by the newspapers, which he detests, he describes the actual conditions of trench-fighting, with a half ironical frankness which demands attention and belief. The book presents the viewpoint of the average intelligent soldier, with psychological comments based

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less upon real scientific knowledge than upon personal theories. "Les Commentaires de Ferdinand" is a continuation of the rat's life, or more particularly his master's, the soldier Juvenet. Here we have a more entertaining and better sustained narrative, setting forth fully what the life of the soldier leads to. It is an indirect plea for pacifism, cast in the familiar old French form.

Drama

Comedies

IN moments of aspiration our playwrights, especially the younger group, attempt the composition of polite comedy. They have a vision, which one understands so well, of plays full of innocence and gallantry, sweep and glitter, making the right exclusions, observing the proper silences, and triumphantly interpreted by Mrs. Fiske or Miss Grace George. Their ideal is the finely woven comedy of manners; if they succeeded they would be abreast of the eighteenth century. Their difficulty is obvious and fatal. That tight and intricate web is in tatters. Here and there—in Boston or Charleston—small groups treasure frail bits of it like frayed remnants of old lace. But to introduce the methods of polite comedy into our free and fevered world leads to nothing but incurable unreality. People have absorbed Butler and Shaw even when they have not read them. Society is no longer a ritual nor life a game lived by rules. A few still break the old rules, the majority are unaware of them and either muddle along or treat life creatively. The former is no theme for polite comedy; the latter, by a purely formal convention, is felt to be immoral.

Miss Grace George continues to select for herself plays of an apparently polite and polished turn. Her latest choice is "The Ruined Lady" by Frances Nordstrom (The Playhouse). The author has tried hard to be adroit and graceful, amusing and blithe. It is quite useless. There are chasms at every step and only the ill-concealed wires keep the puppets from plunging in. If Bill Bruce had really remained betrothed to Ann Mortimer for eight years, he would not habitually have slapped her on the back. It would have burned his fingers. Nor would he have called her "old girl." So complete a fading of the original impulse would have drawn the man, long before eight years were over, to seek some ardor for himself elsewhere. If, on the other hand, we accept the situation—a necessarily dreary one—we cannot believe Bruce worth trapping into a belated marriage by even the most innocent of wiles. What we are asked to believe (in order to remain polite) is that for eight years he was content with Ann's talents as a housekeeper but that his spent passion burst into lasting flame because she might have been slightly compromised in a few trivial minds. The comedy had to be kept innocent and happy at all costs. Miss George's admirable little tone of ruefulness was never to deepen into pain, her gaiety was never to lose its gentle burnish, her bright, hard modulation never to lack its edge of sweetness. All that is duly accomplished. But it is put to a factitious and external use. The major impulses of life spring from a core of ardor. And that ardor is perishable. You may view that fact as tragic or comic. You cannot, in order to remain polite, make life over in terms of the tepidly permanent. To do so is to cater to the furtive and the consciously false. In such plays Miss George will continue to expend her brilliant talents almost if not quite in vain.

Mr. James Forbes in his comedy "The Famous Mrs. Fair" (Henry Miller's Theatre) treats an essentially similar theme with a great display of virile frankness and veracity. Mrs. Fair has been in war work in France for four years. Her absence has left her husband untroubled in any but a domestically sentimental way. She returns decorated and famous. She goes off on a lecturing tour and straightway Mr. Fair yields to the wiles of a frail and clinging deceiver. The astonishing impli-

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cation may be summed up briefly: Patriotism keeps men pure; under all other circumstances husbands need to be safeguarded. And Mr. Forbes really believed in his thesis, braved some prejudice in order to work it out fully, and let his comedy stiffen into one almost tragic moment. But he, too, was obviously snared by the convention of politeness. He never permitted his imagination actually to envisage the facts of a four years' separation to a man capable of Jeffrey Fair's final action at all. In place of any such imaginative realization he put a bit of war emotionalism. When he began to be true to life he had already lost all chance of being credible. Yet both Miss Nordstrom and he had subjects quick with dramatic life and energy. She had the grim comedy of a man whose passion a long and enforced engagement had worn out but whose respect for his betrothed's character kept him from the breach needed to restore their moral health; he had a tragic conflict between a kind of public duty and an urgent question of private morals that might have magnificently relieved the poverty of our serious drama. But the ideal of politeness in the mood and method of comedy kept both plays in a land of make believe that crumbles at the gentlest touch of experience or thought.

The Harvard prize play, Miss Rachel Barton Butler's "Mamma's Affair" (The Little Theatre), breaks with the delusion of "high comedy" and tries, not unsuccessfully, to establish a definite contact with the stuff of reality. The action presented on the stage touches caricature at many points and employs sentimental short-cuts at others. But the theme of the play cuts deep and it cuts into living tissue. Mrs. Orrin is a half-sincere, half-hypocritical hypochondriac, an egomaniac and, what is worse, a furious sentimentalist. By a constant overwrought appeal to her daughter's filial tenderness and human sympathy she has reduced the girl to a wan and serviceable shadow. Poor little Eve has never had a room of her own or a moment of her own or a free impulse or done a healthily selfish thing. The breaking point is reached. Eve repulses her mother and throws herself on the floor in an agony of revulsion and nervous dread. That is a great moment—a great moment in the play and also, one is tempted to add, in the history of our stage. For in what other publicly acted native play will you find a happening that leaps forth so inevitably and from such a depth of life—strong, tragic, unashamed? Our stage is thronged with mothers as pitilessly sentimental and dangerous as Mrs. Orrin. No one has protested against them. They wear their halos to the bitter end. Miss Butler has broken one of the great taboos. She has exposed a loving home that was a prison and a place of torture. She has shown at last that all is not love that kisses. She has not, to be sure, permitted herself a second moment of comparable power. She was committed to the mood of comedy. Hence she asks us to believe that Eve, snatched temporarily from her mother, restored to health and finally married to her admirable physician, has undergone no fundamental inner change, that she will continue to humor Mrs. Orrin and only in future stop short of definite injury to herself. Miss Butler must know that she has substituted a sentimental formula for these quite inexorable facts: the daughter would never have wholly forgotten the torment of her youth nor the mother forgiven the exposure occasioned by Eve's rebellion and flight. But in these matters and in America one must be humble and not ask too much. To have created the moment of Eve Orrin's collapse and rebellion is to have shown a measure of insight and of courage that one must do all in one's power to nurse and to fortify.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

Music

From Zaza to Mélisande

IT is a far cry from Zaza to Mélisande, as far, perhaps, as from nature to art, from instinctive to conscious expression. Yet it is precisely this difference that marks the distinction between the imaginative quality of Geraldine Farrar's acting and

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that of Mary Garden. Farrar's art is essentially that of the flesh. It speaks to us through the senses to the brain, dealing mainly with those primal emotions that have to do with the body, and knowing little of those subtleties and complexities whose roots lie in the intelligence. Not that Farrar lacks intelligence. It is merely that her art is not cerebral. For this reason, her Butterfly is better than her Carmen, her Zaza than her Tosca. Her charm is the charm of energy; and it invests the first act of Zaza with a brilliancy that redeems it of much of its vulgarity, just as her sincerity divests the rôle of much that used to make it artificial and reveals this creature of French manufacture in all its drab, pathetic reality. And so, in Farrar's Zaza, we see a woman as common as the soil from which she sprang, without reticence and without shame in her passions and her suffering, yet able to win our sympathy by the very frankness of her avowal. Like all simple, unrestrained, emotional natures, she is melodramatic in expression, and Farrar has succeeded, where Mrs. Leslie Carter failed, in never allowing the melodramatic to become the purely sensational. It is, indeed, the most natural and convincing portrayal of this heroine that the American stage has yet given us. If the singer never lets us lose sight of the human animal behind the woman, still there are always simple, kindly little touches to remind us that the woman, too, is there. These are what Mary Garden would have omitted. She would have given us only the animal.

It is curious that one who can give us a picture so ethereal as Mélisande, or so exquisite as the Jongleur, can distort so poetic a rôle as Fiora. It is as though the touch of flesh turns her gold into clay; and only those things which escape it appeal to her imaginative side and evoke that quality in her art which we call genius. Otherwise it would be difficult to account for the difference between her Mélisande and her Fiora. In the one, we see her moving vaguely and helplessly about in an atmosphere of twilight and terror, a tender, wistful figure, with long, moon-gold hair, too elusive and too wraithlike to mean more to us than a symbol—the shadow of a poet's dream. On the other hand, she has turned Benelli's heroine, who is a flesh and blood version of Maeterlinck's, into an Italianized Isolde. And what an Isolde! Hard and passionate, without dignity, and converting the most tender love scenes into a mere exhibition of sensuality. Perhaps the difference between the two conceptions is that while we think of Mary Garden as Mélisande, we can only think of Fiora as Mary Garden.

Two arts so different as Garden's and Farrar's can never really meet. One is too sophisticated, too artificial and too subtle to attain simplicity in realities; the other, too simple, healthy and spontaneous to journey successfully into the purely imaginative. Whether it is that the music happens to lie within an easy range, or whether they become so absorbed in the dramatic exegencies of the rôle that they are vocally less self-conscious, is not clear. Certain it is that in "Pelleas and Mélisande" Mary Garden has a voice which she uses and colors most beautifully; while in Zaza, Farrar's seems to have regained much of that exquisite quality that used to be its chief glory.

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The Rumanian Muddle

By HENRY G. ALSBERG

THE present session of the Rumanian Parliament offers the most amusing spectacle Bucharest has ever seen. The elections were a complete surprise, especially to M. Bratianu. All the old parties having resolved to abstain from voting, he took none of the precautions necessary to secure an election in Rumania. As a result, the unknown and unimportant Peasants' party captured a number of deputies. Bratianu still represents the largest single group, but the Transylvanians have deserted him and with the Bessarabians and the Peasants have formed a *bloc*. Meanwhile Avarescu, leader of the Popular party, the Conservatives under Take Jonescu, and the Socialists bitterly regret having refrained from taking part in the elections. They now feel that, despite fraud and martial law, they might have defeated Bratianu.

Bratianu is sitting back and awaiting events with ill-concealed satisfaction. Avarescu and the Socialists and Conservatives clamor for a new election; but the Bessarabians, the Transylvanians, and the Peasants do not dare to try conclusions at the polls again, in a contest with the old parties. Avarescu would doubtless wipe out the entire new Peasants' party, such is his popularity among the country people. Nor does Bratianu want a new election, knowing well that with the election machinery out of his control, his hundred and twenty delegates would be reduced to about twenty.

The newspapers and the unrepresented parties state that it is impossible to consider the present Parliament the constituent assembly, because it does not represent the country. The parties in Parliament maintain that it is not their fault if the others abstained from voting. It is freely predicted by the Avarescuists, the Conservatives, and the Socialists, that a revolution will take place if the present Parliament insists on considering itself a constituent assembly and enacting the country's fundamental laws.

As yet no platform of vital principles has been evolved by any of the large groups, with the exception of the Socialists. So far, Rumanian politics hinges around personalities, around the hero Avarescu; around Bratianu, the old fox of Rumanian politics; around Take Jonescu, friend of the Entente and of the landlords. Perhaps the most interesting personality which the present situation has developed is Dr. N. Lupu, who has risen to sudden importance. Formerly a Liberal belonging to Bratianu's group, he has lately broken loose and finding no welcome or opportunity to secure office in the ranks of the Socialists (a party rule demands a three years' membership before a person becomes eligible for public office), he has formed an independent socialist party of his own. With six deputies behind him in the new Parliament, and by means of clever wire-pulling, he has secured the office of Minister of the Interior, a post which has been changing hands every few days. He is frankly an opportunist; he thinks it more important at present to accomplish practical reform in Rumania, such as the reconstitution of the transport system and the distribution of salt and petrol among the peasants and bread in cities, than to discuss theories. He made an encouraging beginning by settling a street-car strike, which had been in progress in Bucharest for weeks, in a few hours after his acceptance of the portfolio. He has been in America and seems to have some idea of practical, business-like methods—a rare thing in Rumania. He told me just before his appointment that, given two months, he could wean the peasants away from their blind devotion to the war hero, Avarescu, by conferring upon them some practical benefits—cheap salt and petrol and bread and clothes. "I shall work in the American manner, eighteen hours a day," he said.

The presence of the peasants and other proletarian members gives the new Parliament a wholly unprecedented aspect. Except on the Liberal benches, hardly a frock coat is anywhere to be seen. The peasants lounge in their country costumes, and there is a notable general absence of formality and parliamentary dignity. The deputies interrupt the speakers with loud cries and jeers, or applause and shouts of approval; the house is in constant turmoil. The old-time members are puzzled and annoyed. They have no idea how to manipulate these country deputies; the old methods fail to work. A considerable degree of honesty seems still to be ruling the actions of the new members. The dissipations of Bucharest have not taken hold of them, and the political influence of undesirable women, formerly so strong in Rumanian affairs, has not been able so far to corrupt the peasants' representatives.

On the other hand, the peasants are greatly influenced by persuasive oratory. Marghiloman, who had to bear the disgrace of signing the peace with Germany, has recently been devoting several speeches in Parliament to a vindication of his actions from the charge of treachery to the country. Apart from the fact that he seems to have right and honesty on his side, and that Bratianu really made the peace and he, Marghiloman, at the King's request, merely signed his name in an indicated blank, Marghiloman is a great orator. With only about six deputies in his party, he has, on two separate occasions, had the lower house in an uproar of applause for more than two hours. With his extraordinary talent and considering the public to which he must appeal, Marghiloman should be heard from again in Rumanian political life.

And while time is wasted on speeches and ministerial programs, nothing is done to relieve the economic situation. The finances are in a terrible muddle. For months there has been no attempt to balance books. In a general way the finance minister seems to know that the country owes about 22,000,000,000 leï.* Income has been derived, as in Soviet Russia and under Denikin, largely from the printing presses; the leï continues to fall in the world's money markets. This is due, of course, to the tremendous excess of imports over exports. With plenty of mineral oil, none has been exported because the pipe lines and tanks and terminal facilities have not been reconstructed. The Rumanians themselves cannot do this work, and they will not let outsiders do it for them, for fear of the domination

* Under a normal rate of exchange one leï is worth 19.295 cents.

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of the "trusts." Last summer's wheat crop showed a large surplus for export; but this fall's crop is so insufficient that all the wheat must be kept in the country against next year's shortage. A halt must be called sooner or later to this process of only buying and never selling; otherwise a crash will come. Everything seems to be pointing to this eventuality some time in the spring. Speculations run wild, new companies come to life by the dozen, wild-cat schemes find ready investors. People have forgotten the value of money, largely on account of its depreciation. So they talk and incorporate in millions. The bubble must break; and then a sadder and wiser Rumanian bourgeoisie will have to settle down to gaining its living in a legitimate manner once more.

Here as everywhere else, people are clamoring for loans from the United States. I have information from a very good source that on several occasions the United States Government offered to make a loan of large size to Rumania, but that Great Britain would not allow a loan to come to Rumania except by way of England, and on condition that the credit be used solely for the purchase of British goods.

The food situation, transportation, and the cost of living are receiving as little intelligent attention as the question of public finance. Black bread becomes daily scarcer in the cities. One sees, in all the poorer districts of Bucharest, the same heartbreaking bread lines that were evident throughout Middle Europe last year. The Government, at the beginning, conceived the idea of selling white bread at a price higher than cost and using the profit to keep down the price of black bread. But such is the scarcity of flour that this ingenious system no longer works. And although white bread increases continually in cost, the quality and quantity of black bread steadily diminishes. The Rumanian crops last summer were very fair and none of this crop has been exported except for a small portion which may have been smuggled across the frontiers under export permissions obtained through bribery or falsification. The only explanation for the present scarcity can be found in the widespread dishonesty and speculation, and the cornering of the necessities of life.

It is hard to estimate the chances of revolution. Those who best know Rumanian politics dismiss the idea of any imminent overturn whatever Parliament may do or fail to do. The Socialists, however, continue to prophesy upheaval. Many of the Rumanian soldiers during their stay in Hungary were infected with Bolshevist ideas. While the officers helped themselves to Hungarian property, the men absorbed Hungarian propaganda; and when general demobilization takes place, and the soldiers add their discontent to that already existing in the villages and small cities, a dangerous situation will arise. Much will depend upon the attitude of Avarescu, who still remains the idol of the peasants. If Parliament refuses to decree a new election for a truly representative assembly, Avarescu may stir up real trouble. Take Jonescu and his party would at least offer no resistance. As for the Socialists, they believe in fishing in troubled waters; they hope that by that time the Russian Bolsheviki will have reached the Dniester and that Red propaganda will again be seeping across into Bessarabia. In spite of real political strength, the Rumanian Socialists prefer direct action, and a revolution begun by the Avarescuists, might, in view of the proximity of Russian Bolshevism, end in a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The situation may be considerably modified by the rise to power of Lupu, who with his program of immediate social change may deflect the radical movement from its tendency toward violent upheaval, and materially improve the chances of a peaceful and prosperous future for Rumania.

Rumania's Needs

By NICHOLAS LUPU

OF all the new countries created by the world war and the peace of Versailles, Rumania is, from an economic point of view, the most favored. Situated in Central Europe, near Egypt, Asia Minor, and Russia, with great quantities of raw materials for the development of its manufactures, Rumania will be able to reconstruct its life more rapidly than the other countries around it. But rapid development demands capital and good organizers, and those depend upon the soundness of the nation and its political structure. If nature favored Rumania with bountiful resources and beauty, history has proved less generous. Rumania has inherited a self-seeking oligarchy, members of which still rule the more intelligent and energetic peasantry. That oligarchy—composed of some three to five thousand landlords, who at the same time are bankers and politicians—is supported by the two so-called "historic" parties: Liberal and Conservative. Of eight million acres of tillable land, four millions are in the possession of the landlords, who comprise those two parties. The other four million acres are in the possession of seven and a half million peasants.

Such a situation is obviously intolerable. Various uprisings made it evident that wide reforms would have to be effected. But the *beati possidentes* of the two old parties were not readily disposed to make concessions. Late in 1917, pressed by the events of the Russian Revolution, the Rumanian oligarchy decided to support an agrarian "reform" measure. The provisions of that measure left 300,000 peasants wholly without land (and they have no other means of livelihood), and left in the hands of the landlords more than 2,000,000 acres.

That agrarian bill must be ratified by the new Parliament;* but a perfect accord exists between the two old parties with regard to it—to give as little land as possible to the peasants and to demand for it the highest possible prices. The peasantry of today, however, is very different from the peasantry of pre-war times. They understand the agrarian problem, and with representatives of their own in the new Parliament they are prepared to fight for honest reforms for the peasantry. Although the people are outwardly quiet, they are thoroughly discontented because of the long war, inefficient administration, and official corruption; the voice of the peasants will doubtless be heard when the agrarian bill is discussed. The Socialists are not strong in Rumania because the industrial population is small, and the peasants are suspicious of the doctrines of collectivism. But a type of socialism adapted to Rumanian conditions would, I believe, prove highly successful, and the party supporting such a program would soon become the strongest in the country. In addition to its hostility to collectivist doctrines, a peasant population is harder to organize for revolution than are industrial workers. The army in Rumania is proud of its victory and of the new Great Ru-

* This article was written before the present Parliament convened.

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mania, so that any attempted revolution could easily be put down by the army and a few machine guns controlled by a determined element, however small.

A much more menacing movement is that led by General Avarescu, who is idolized by the peasants and helped by the landlords. In his present position between the hammer and the anvil, he is unlikely to accomplish anything of a definitive nature.

The old parties, who now as ever despise the people and care nothing for the economic desires of the peasants, fought the electoral campaign on issues of foreign politics —issues with which the wars of the people have little concern. M. Bratianu's policy of resistance means nothing to the general public; while the policy of concession and reconciliation at any price supported by M. Take Jonescu, the Conservative leader, is unsatisfactory to the people, who are displeased with the decisions of the Peace Conference concerning Rumania.

I believe that a Government eventually will be formed representing, not the interests of M. Bratianu, nor of Messrs. Jonescu and Avarescu, but the will of sixteen million Rumanians. Such a Government under new leaders will find a just solution for the difficulties facing the new Rumania, and will be able to take advantage of the favorable economic situation of the country and its great opportunities.

The Expropriation of Land in Rumania

THE following "Legislative Decree concerning Expropriation for Reasons of National Emergency" was published in the Rumanian *Monitorul Oficial* of December 16, 1918.

I. Lands Expropriated; Determination of Price

Art. 1. Pursuant to provisions of Art. 19, par. 5, of the Constitution and to legislative decree No. 3,681 of December 14, 1918, the arable land of the extent and in the circumstances hereinafter prescribed is expropriated in order to increase, through purchase, the holding of arable land by the peasants actually working it. Preference in such sales will be given those who have been mobilized or, should they have died during or on account of the war, to their dependents.

Art. 2. Everything below the surface of all these lands remains the property of the state.

Art. 3. The expropriation will take effect legally from the date of legislative decree No. 3,681 (1918).

Lands or portions thereof affected by this decree cannot be alienated or otherwise disposed of from the same date and without further formality. The expropriation affects the property irrespective of the character, person, or legal status of its owner, or of the character of the land expropriated.

Art. 4. The expropriation ordered by legislative decree No. 3,681 of December 14, 1918, and by the present legislative decree will be carried into effect without interruption to full completion.

Art. 5. The following are expropriated in entirety:

(a) Arable lands owned by the Crown; by rural realty holding administrations; by corporations, public or private; by institutions, foundations, etc., even when the will, act, or decree by which such institutions, foundations, etc., are created, directly or by implication provides against the alienation of the property or its diversion to other purpose;

(b) All land owned outside of cities by subjects of foreign countries, whether alien by birth, marriage, or otherwise;

(c) Rural land owned by absentees.

This includes all lands which during the preceding five years were subject to the double land tax, as specially provided for at the time.

Art. 6. There are also subject to expropriation a total of two million hectares,* to be obtained from the arable lands of all private land-owners owning over and above one hundred hectares of such arable land.

Art. 7. For the purposes of this decree arable land is construed to include all land which to this date has been utilized for cultivation, hay-fields, pastures (to the extent that they may be used for cultivation), as well as any other land considered appropriate for cultivation.

Art. 8. To obtain this total of two million hectares the expropriation will proceed according to the progressive scale furnished in the accompanying table, which forms an integral part of this act.

Art. 9. There is not to be included, in computing this total of two million hectares, the lands expropriated from owners enumerated in Art. 5, pars. (a) and (b); nor lands owned by the state, which will likewise be sold to peasants actually engaged in agriculture as workers.

Art. 10. The state reserves to itself the right to keep any of its own lands, or of those acquired by expropriation, for any future public use.

Art. 11. The area of the lands for the purposes of this act will be calculated according to their legal status on August 15, 1916, due regard being shown to actual accruements subsequent to that date and until the date of this act.

Art. 12. For the purposes of the application of the progressive scale the lands owned in co-partnership will be considered divided into lots according to the number of partners. However, the entire portion expropriated will be contiguous, as if the property belonged to a single individual.

Art. 13. Areas of land situated in the same administrative unit (*comuna*) and owned by the same person are considered as one contiguous property, even when actually separated. Areas of land situated even in different, but adjoining, administrative units, and forming part of one agricultural enterprise, will be considered as one contiguous property for the purposes of this act.

Art. 14. An owner of several areas of land may retain the total of the portions accruing to him after expropriation is effected contiguously in one of the properties, provided this remaining land could not be made available for sale to agricultural workers except by colonization.

Art. 15. Provided that after the expropriation is effected according to the scale mentioned in Art. 8, the total of two million hectares is not obtained from lands owned by individuals and absentees, this total will be completed by the further expropriation, according to regulations to be issued subsequently, of the following lands: first, portions of the lands affected by the act of December 23, 1907, which have not contributed to the public pasture grounds; if further expropriation be then necessary, portions of lands that have been rented continuously in the preceding ten years; if the total be still uncompleted, there will be further expropriated portions of land of such owners as having been expropriated in conformity with the provisions of this act, still have left two or more areas of land aggregating over five hundred hectares; and if even then the total be not attained, the difference will be acquired proportionally from all lands previously subjected to expropriation.

Art. 16. Private lands found to yield oil are excluded from expropriation to an area aggregating 12,000 hectares for the whole country, provided that the owners thereof, who would otherwise be subject to expropriation, give up a corresponding area of arable land in the same or an adjoining district. When the aggregate area of private oil-yielding lands exceeds 12,000 hectares, it will be reduced proportionally for all owners, until this area is obtained.

Art. 17. For similar reasons of national emergency, and in addition to the areas of arable land to be secured by expropria-

*A hectare is 2.47 acres.

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tion according to the foregoing articles, there will be expropriated from privately owned lands in the mountainous regions not included in the provisions of Art. 6, only the surface area necessary for the establishment of communal pasture grounds.

Art. 18. The price of the lands expropriated for reasons of national emergency will be fixed per hectare, according to category and quality of the soil. It will be determined by means of all the available ordinary elements of valuation, such as selling price of land in the respective area during the five years previous to August 15, 1916; local rents; valuation by credit institutions; net income per hectare; analysis of the quality of the soil by specialists; assessments for taxation; but will in no case exceed the regional rent figure multiplied by twenty.

For the areas in the mountainous regions whose surface only is expropriated for the establishment of communal pasture grounds, the price will not exceed the regional rent figure multiplied by fifteen; except where the owner agrees to be expropriated for the sub-soil as well, when the price will be twenty times the rent figure.

II. Manner of Expropriation; Instruments of Application; Procedure in Determining Lands to Be Expropriated and Price Fixing

Art. 19. The application of the provisions of this act and the special land-acquisition act will be effected by the Central Office of the Association of People's Banks and Rural Coöperatives, which from the date of the present act becomes a public institution under the Secretary of Agriculture and will be known as the Central Coöperative and Land-Acquisition Office, having the status of a public corporation. A special act will further determine the manner of organization and the functions of this institution, as far as they are not covered by this act.

Art. 20. The application of the provisions relative to expropriations will be effected at the same time throughout the country according to the following rules:

All owners of land subject to expropriation according to the terms of this act must, within twenty days of the publication of this act in the *Monitorul Oficial*, furnish the District Court of the district in which the land is located or where they reside a statement containing the following data:

(a) Name of property, and of the community, county, and district in which it is situated;

(b) Name of owner, his judicial status, and legal residence;

(c) Legal status of property, and its encumbrances;

(d) Number of land areas owned, their situation, extent, and character;

(e) Total area of property, specifying by hectares the area covered by timber, gardens, orchards, etc.; the portion not subject to expropriation; portion considered arable—land under general cultivation, hay-fields, pastures subject to expropriation; and the area to be expropriated;

(f) Location of portion offered for expropriation;

(g) Whether the land is rented or not and, if rented, name of tenant, terms and duration of contract, annual rent, and period covered by rent already paid;

(h) Whether the land has a definite map and boundary lines; whether it has an economic map; and whether the one or the other is legally confirmed; whether there is any machinery or plant thereon;

(i) Total income according to assessment sheets, and assessment figures for income per hectare from arable portion;

(j) Purchase price of property, total or per hectare; valuation figures by credit institutions; and dates of payment of purchase price and of such valuations.

Obligation to make such returns for minors and persons legally disqualified to act in their own names falls upon their legal representatives, guardians, or administrators; for married women upon their husbands, even for dowry rights; and where the property is held in trust for some individual or institution, upon the recipient of its benefits. The statement furnished by the owner serves as basis for all expropriation operations. Failure to make such a statement entails the forfeiture of the right to correct errors committed by reason of such failure in the course of the application of this act, except where this failure is due to some unavoidable circumstance.

Art. 21. In order that the agricultural workers may derive the benefits from the use of the lands expropriated before the spring of 1919, there will be organized Local Commissions whose function will be to determine in general lines the portions of property to be expropriated. These Commissions will consist of:

(a) The judge of the district in which the land is situated;

(b) The owner of the land affected, or his legal representative;

(c) One delegate for the agricultural workers, to be designated by them to the district judge before the beginning of the proceedings. If the peasants cannot agree upon a delegate, such delegate will be appointed ex-officio by the judge from among the village notables.

Art. 22. The day designated for the beginning of proceedings will be communicated by the district judge to the following:

(a) The owner of the land, by summons at the land office;

(b) The peasants, by notice posted on the door of the town hall.

Notification of land-owners absent abroad will be made through their tenants, whether their legal representatives at home be known or not.

Should either the land-owner or his authorized representative, or the delegate of the land-workers, fail to appear at the proper time, the district judge may commence proceedings with the one other member of the Commission present, or even in the absence of both other members.

Art. 23. It will be the duty of the Local Commission, within one month after the expiration of the twenty days mentioned in Art. 20, and pursuant to the area of land to be expropriated according to the table annexed hereto, to determine in general lines and on the ground the portion to be expropriated.

The Commission will be guided in its work by the statement furnished by the land-owner, according to provisions of Art. 20, by documents, maps, boundary determinations, etc., and will determine the portion that can be turned over to the peasants at once, giving due regard to the economic condition of the land. The various expropriated portions, as well as the portions left to the owner, will, within the limits of possibility, be contiguous.

Art. 24. The decision of the Local Commission will be rendered immediately after completion of its survey, on the grounds, and will be recorded in triplicate, one copy being given the land-owner, one retained at the town-hall, and the third reserved for the district agricultural inspector. If the decision is unanimous, the inspector will allow the peasants' community to take possession of the expropriated land at once. If there be a minority report, the decision will be submitted to the District Council not later than five days after being rendered. The District Council will render its decision within fifteen days, posting same at the entrance to the district court, which will form the headquarters of the District Council.

Pursuant to this latter decision the peasants' community will be authorized by the agricultural inspector to take possession of the land expropriated.

Art. 25. All other formalities, i.e., the final choice and determination of the portions expropriated, detailed fixation of boundary lines, fixation of price, etc., will be effected by the District and Local Commissions, as hereinafter provided.

Art. 26. To this end the Central Coöperative and Land-Acquisition Office, in agreement with the Superior Agricultural Board, will provide for the creation within each district of as many district boards as may be necessary for the expedition of the work.

Each Commission will consist of two delegates appointed by the land-owners, two peasants' delegates, one delegate of the Central Coöperative and Land-Acquisition Office, and one district or municipal judge, assigned by the chief district magistrate. The judge is the chairman of the Commission. The

*Table of expropriation scale omitted.

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Commission will render decisions by majority vote; in case of a tie the president's vote will decide.

The land-owners' delegates to each District Commission are elected according to the provisions of the Agricultural Contracts Act; those of the peasants by a meeting of the district branch or branches of the People's Banks. Elections will take place on the first Sunday following the calling of the meeting. In addition to the delegates, two alternates are elected for each District Commission. In the absence of any delegate, for whatever cause, the chief district magistrate will complete the Commission by the appointment of another member of the same group, to be designated by the Central Coöperative and Land-Acquisition Office.

Art. 27. To each Commission will be attached an engineer and other specialists where necessary, to be designated by the Central Coöperative and Land-Acquisition Office, who will conduct all necessary technical investigations and act in an advisory capacity.

Art. 28. As soon as the agricultural inspector receives the decision of the Local Commission he will submit a copy thereof to the District Commission concerned.

The District Commission will proceed to the grounds and guided by the facts enumerated in Art. 18, will render final decision on the selection of the ground, without in any way being bound by any previous decision it may have rendered when deciding on an appeal from a decision by the Local Commission (see Art. 24), as well as upon determining the portion and limits of the area of ground to be expropriated.

The same Commission will collect all data relative to valuation which in accordance with Art. 18, may serve in the fixation of the price of the land expropriated, and will render on opinion as to the price per hectare of the land under consideration.

Art. 29. The District Commission will keep records of all its investigations and decisions, extracts of which will be published in the *Monitorul Oficial.*

Art. 30. The land-owners and peasants, as well as the Central Coöperative and Land-Acquisition Office, have the right to appeal from a decision of the District Commission. This appeal must be submitted to the Regional Expropriation Commission within fifteen days of the publication of the decision objected to in the *Monitorul Oficial.*

Art. 31. The Regional Expropriation Commissions, one for each Court of Appeals district, will consist of the president of the Court of Appeals or the chief district magistrate, acting as chairman; one delegate appointed by the Superior Agricultural Board; one delegate of the Central Coöperative and Land-Acquisition Office; one delegate of the land-owners, selected from among the land-owners' delegates to the District Commissions in the area; and one delegate of the branches of the People's Banks selected from among the delegates of the latter to the District Commissions in the area.

Art. 32. The chairman of the Regional Commission, upon receipt of the appeals as provided under Art. 30, decides upon a date for a hearing, which may not be within less than fifteen days, and posts it at the entrance to the Commission's headquarters. The parties will appear without being especially summoned, will furnish oral testimony when requested, and may submit written briefs. Upon the strength of the documents in the case, or by investigation by any of its members or by the Regional Commission as a whole, the latter will render final and mandatory decisions, not subject to appeal on any point except as regards price fixation. The decisions of the Regional Commissions will be published in the *Monitorul Oficial.*

Art. 33. Decisions of the Regional Commissions regarding price fixation per hectare may be appealed, within fifteen days from their publication in the *Monitorul Oficial,* to the Court of Appeals, which gives all such cases priority on the calendar, and decides without summoning the parties and on the principles set forth in Art. 32 of this act.

Art. 34. The decisions of the Court of Appeals are not subject to appeal to the Supreme Court.

Art. 35. Pursuant to the decision of the Regional Commission, or pursuant to the decision of the District Expropriation Commission where no appeal has been taken, the engineers and other technical experts appointed by the Central Coöperative and Land-Acquisition Office will determine on the ground the limits of the portions to be expropriated, as selected by the Commission in its decision, and will record their action in triplicate, submitting one copy to the Central Office and one each to the land-owner and local town hall.

Art. 36. The limits of the 12,000 hectares of oil fields will be determined as follows:

The Central Coöperative and Land-Acquisition Office, pursuant to a geological survey of the entire country made by the director of the Geological Institute and two other geologists, of whom one shall be appointed by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the other by the Secretary of Commerce and Industry, will determine and designate for the whole country each of the properties comprising an area of 12,000 hectares. The same Commission will also determine and survey the oil fields now state property. The Central Coöperative and Land-Acquisition Office will also make known, by publication in the *Monitorul Oficial,* the area of arable land which the owner is to substitute for the oil-producing land for expropriation purposes. The owner must comply with the decision within six months from its publication, failing which the expropriation will take place automatically, according to the provisions of this Act, on the ground found or alleged to be oil-producing, and for which the same price will be fixed as for arable land. The procedure for expropriation will be as set forth in this Act.

III. Exploitation of Expropriated Lands

Art. 37. As the operations of expropriation progress, the Central Coöperative and Land-Acquisition Office will take steps to allot the lands so expropriated and offer them for sale to the peasants, according to the provisions of the special land-acquisition act.

Art. 38. The Central Office will also see to it that communities are formed at once to take possession of the lands expropriated in the spring of 1919, according to the provisions of Art. 21 above. Such communities will have to include those farmers who do not now own sufficient arable ground, preference being given former soldiers or their dependents. Army deserters and fugitives are excluded from membership in such communities.

Art. 39. If there be several expropriated areas of land in the same township or borough, one single peasants' community may be formed.

Art. 40. If in the opinion of the Central Office no more peasants' communities can be formed, a portion of the land expropriated may be administered by a committee consisting of two members appointed by the Executive Committee of the local People's Bank and one member appointed by the Central Office.

Art. 41. The communities will function according to the by-laws of the People's Banks and the Rural Coöperatives, and in accordance with instructions issued by the Central Coöperative and Land-Acquisition Office. The community will come into existence and function according to a Constitution setting forth the privileges and obligations of its members, as well as the manner of exploitation of the lands. This Constitution must be approved by the Home Office of the People's Banks; following this approval the local district judge will render the Constitution official, according to Arts. 4 and 5 of the act creating the People's Banks, without the formality of taking the actual testimony of the founders.

Art. 42. The lands thus taken possession of will be paid for to the owner according to regional rates now obtaining.

Art. 43. The payment will be computed for an agricultural year, from April 23 of one year to April 23 of the following year, and during the first year will be made on November 1; and in the following years, until the final division of the land,

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on May 1 and November 1 of each year. Should the community fail to pay the land-owner the amount due, the Central Co-operative and Land-Acquisition Office must make payment and seek redress by prosecuting the peasants' community according to the Delinquent Taxpayers' Act.

Art. 44. If cultivation has been commenced on the land turned over to the workers, the owner is entitled to compensation equivalent to his outlay. The amount involved will be amicably determined between the community and the owner, with the aid of the technical expert delegated by the Central Office. Should a settlement not be arrived at in this manner, the Supreme Agricultural Board will render a final decision.

Art. 45. Rental contracts of lands expropriated are declared null and void in so far as the portion turned over to the peasants is concerned, the rent being proportionally reduced, and neither the owner nor the tenant being entitled to any redress. Should the portion expropriated exceed 25 per cent. of the total area of the land, the tenant may consider the whole contract cancelled, with no redress either for himself or the owner. All contracts for lands of which the tenants have not yet taken possession are hereby declared totally null and void.

IV. Payment of Price; Extent of State's Contribution; Liquidation of Encumbrances

Art. 46. Payment of the price agreed upon to the individual land-owner will be made in bonds redeemable in fifty years, bearing 5 per cent. annual interest. The nominal value will be considered as actual value for purposes of payment. To corporations, payment will be made in permanent bonds bearing 5 per cent. annual interest.

Art. 47. Payment for each property will be made as soon as the formalities called for in Art. 35 will have been completed.

Art. 48. To lighten the burden of the peasants at the beginning, the state will contribute an amount not to exceed 35 per cent. of the expropriation price. The manner of employment of this sum will be provided for in the land-acquisition act.

For payment of lands expropriated for communal pasture ground the state will contribute one-third of the yearly payments, but only where the owner agrees to the expropriation of the sub-soil as well.

Art. 49. The state will make payments exclusively by depositing the appropriate bonds at the Deposits Bank.

The state will consider the payment satisfied by the simple act of depositing bonds for the amount involved. The owner may obtain the bonds from the Deposits Bank only when provided with the authorization of the chief magistrate of the district where the expropriated land is situated.

Art. 50. Through the deposit of the price the expropriated land becomes property of the state, free from all encumbrances or obligations of whatever nature, except mortgages held by the Rural Credit Bank. All those holding claims of any nature whatsoever on the portion of land expropriated may obtain redress only by attaching the bonds deposited in payment.

Art. 51. All claims and actions upon the expropriated portion of land, judgments, liens, or attachments, and all rights accrued by virtue of mortgages, trusts, etc., even when known to the state, cannot operate to prevent the expropriation, and become null and non-operative from the date of the deposit of the purchase price in bonds at the Deposits Bank. The courts, upon request of the Central Coöperative and Land-Acquisition Office and upon proof of the deposit of the bonds, will order the cancelling of all such claims upon the expropriated portion of land and the suspension of all actions, claims, or judgments.

Similarly, even before such deposit is made, no transfer, assignment, attachment, or judgment can be executed while the property is under control of the state, which may disregard any and all; while those previously executed become null and void.

Art. 52. If the property is mortgaged only to the Rural Credit Bank for an amount exceeding the cost of the portion to be expropriated, the entire amount due the land-owner remains as an encumbrance on the expropriated portion, and the land-owner will be credited with a corresponding sum against his total indebtedness. The Rural Credit Bank will effect the necessary change in the mortgagers, substituting the state for the expropriated land-owner as entitled to the privileges and responsible for the obligations of the part of the property taken over by the state, transferring also upon the latter a corresponding portion of capital stock. The payment of annuities to extinction of the indebtedness will be effected by the state. If the purchase price is greater than the owner's entire indebtedness to the Credit Bank, the state will, upon consummation of the expropriation, refund him the difference according to Art. 49 of the present Act.

Art. 53. If the property to be expropriated is mortgaged elsewhere than to the Rural Credit Bank, the claim of the latter will be satisfied as outlined in the preceding Article; all other mortgages or assignments become void as regards the expropriated portion. The rights and claims of other mortgagees or creditors may be directed only against the portion of land not expropriated, each according to precedence and only for the installments still due after collecting on the bonds due the expropriated land-owner according to Art. 46, last paragraph, which bonds must be accepted in settlement no matter what other form of payment may have been expressly stipulated.

Art. 54. If the property is mortgaged to others, not including the Rural Credit Bank, such mortgages become automatically void as regards the portion of land expropriated, all claims being directed only against the bonds deposited in the Deposits Bank as payment to the owner. They continue in force, however, in due proportion, against the portion of property left the owner, and according to the terms stipulated in the instruments. The proportional part of the claim due the mortgagee for the expropriated portion of land becomes immediately payable, and will be paid out of the bonds deposited, the face value of each bond being calculated as its numerical equivalent in cash. Similarly will payment be made for all interests accrued to the date of the deposit. After this date ordinary interests cease accruing, the creditor only being entitled to the bond coupons. Such mortgagees who, instead of accepting payment due them in bonds deposited, would consent to the transfer of their entire claim upon the non-expropriated portion of the property and at the same time extend the expiration of the mortgage ten years, at 5 per cent. yearly interest, will receive the amount of their claim at maturity in cash. All such changes, transfers, cancellations, and extensions of indebtedness, as well as a list of creditors showing their priority, will be announced by the chief magistrate of the realty section, upon request of either creditor or debtor, after summoning of parties. Such announcement will be final. Upon its strength the chief magistrate will order the Deposits Bank to pay to creditors bonds specified as due them, and will be able to cause cancellation or transfer of indebtedness from the expropriated land portions.

V. General Dispositions

Art. 55. All documents and transfers, without exception, relative to expropriation, as well as all legal and non-legal papers executed in compliance with this Act, are exempt from special stamps and registry fees.

Art. 56. Rules, regulations, and instructions issued by the Secretary of Agriculture will explain and complete in detail the provisions of this Act.

Art. 57. All laws and regulations conflicting with this legislative decree are hereby revoked.

Art. 58. This legislative decree is subject to subsequent ratification by Parliament.

Art. 59 and last. The Secretary of Agriculture is instructed to carry out the provisions of this legislative decree.

FERDINAND, *Rex*

Ion I. C. Bratianu
President of the Cabinet and Minister for Foreign Affairs.

I. G. Duca
Secretary of Agriculture.

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Books of the Week

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

Chesterton, G. K. Irish Impressions. Lane. $1.50.—Cole, Grenville A. J. Ireland the Outpost. Oxford University Press. —Lockington, W. J. The Soul of Ireland. Macmillan. $1.75.—Slater, Gilbert (editor). Some South Indian Villages. University of Madras Economic Studies. Oxford University Press.

EDUCATION AND TEXT BOOKS

Forty-fourth Annual Report of the Minister of State for Education for the Fifth Statistical Year of Taisho, 1916-1917. Translated and published by the Department of Education, Tokyo, Japan.—Livingstone, R. W., and C. E. Freeman (editors). Cæsar Books IV (20-38) and V of the Gallic War. Oxford University Press.

MUSIC, ART, AND ARCHÆOLOGY

Gallatin, Albert Eugene. Art and the Great War. Dutton. $15.—Norgate, Edward. Miniatura or the Art of Limning. Oxford University Press.

THE WAR

Champneys, Arthur C. Tekel: The Papacy and the War. London: Bell & Sons.—Small, James Louis (editor). Home—Then What? Doran.

RECONSTRUCTION AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Buxton, Noel, and C. Leonard Leese. Balkan Problems and European Peace. Scribners. $1.75.—Davis, Malcolm W. Open Gates to Russia. Harpers. $2.—Pribram, Alfred Franzis, and Archibald Carry Coolidge. The Secret Treaties of Austria-Hungary, 1879-1914: Volume 1. Texts of the Treaties and Agreements with Translations by Denys P. Myers and J. G. D'Arcy Paul. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.—Villiers, Brougham, and W. H. Chesson. Anglo-American Relations 1861-1865. Scribners. $2.50.—Woolf, Leonard. Empire and Commerce in Africa. London: Allen & Unwin.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Bispham, David. A Quaker Singer's Recollections. Macmillan. $4.—Hamilton, Ernest. Elizabeth Ulster. Dutton. $6. —Linforth, Ivan M. Solon the Athenian. Berkeley: University of California Press.—Morgan, James. Theodore Roosevelt: The Boy and the Man. Macmillan. $1.—Recouly, Raymond. Foch: The Winner of the War. Scribners. $3.—Von Ludendorff, Erich. Ludendorff's Own Story, August, 1914-November, 1918. Volumes 1 and 2. Harpers.—Woodbury, Margaret. Public Opinion in Philadelphia, 1789-1801. Smith College Studies in History. Northampton, Mass.: Department of History.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Galbraith, Anna M. The Family and the New Democracy. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co. $2.25.

Harvard Theological Studies VI

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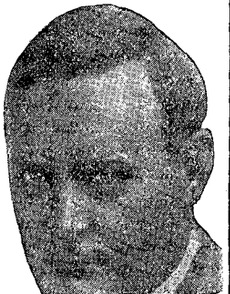

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